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ANNALS

OF THE

FRENCH REVOLUTION.

ANNALS

OF THE

FRENCH REVOLUTION;

OR,

A CHRONOLOGICAL ACCOUNT OF

Its Principal Events;

WITH A VARIETY OF

ANECDOTES AND CHARACTERS

HITHERTO UNPUBLISHED.

BY

A. F. BERTRAND DE MOLEVILLE,

MINISTER OF STATE.

TRANSLATED

By R. C. DALLAS, Esq.

FROM THE ORIGINAL MANUSCRIPT OF THE AUTHOR, WHICH HAS NEVER BEEN PUBLISHED.

IN FOUR VOLUMES.

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ADVERTISEMENT.

IT was originally intended that the Papers contained in the Appendix ſhould be placed in the different Volumes, according to the references; but from the variety in the length of thoſe Papers it was afterwards thought proper, in order to preſerve a uniformity of ſize in the Volumes, to throw them together at the end of the work. Previous to this determination, a reference had been made, page 57, to one of the notes at the end of the firſt Volume, as if it were in the Appendix; but the reader will obſerve, that there are but two notes at the end of the firſt Volume, and that this reference is to the note, and not to the Appendix, the references to which will be found numbered in the ſucceeding pages.

The Tranſlator takes the opportunity of this Advertiſement to apologiſe for the admiſſion of French terms into the body of the work. Al-

though ſenſible of the copiouſneſs of the Engliſh language, and of the fault of admitting words that can be tranſlated, he has been under the neceſſity of uſing the French expreſſions received in converſation, in order to avoid an awkwardneſs of phraſeology. He alludes to ſuch phraſes as *Tiers-Etat*, *Coté-Droit*, *Coté-Gauche*, *Brigands*, *lantern* for the lamp-iron, and others, which the peculiar events of the age ſeem to have naturaliſed.

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PRE-

PRELIMINARY NOTE.

THESE Annals, far from being a ſequel of the Private Memoirs which I have already publiſhed, are the chief work from which I extracted the chapters that form thoſe Memoirs. I was aware of the inconvenience and imputation to which I ſubjected myſelf, by offering to the public ſome unconnected chapters which did not form a whole; but inſuperable obſtacles at that time prevented the publication of the entire work.—Many of the chapters remained unfiniſhed, from my inability to procure all the original papers I wiſhed to add to them: beſides, I could find no bookſeller who would undertake to print, on his own account, ſeven large volumes, upon a ſubject which had already employed the pen of ſo many writers, and I could not myſelf be at the

expence of the publication. I might indeed have poſtponed it, but I thought it incumbent upon me to produce it. The profound veneration I felt for the virtues of *Louis XVI.* would not ſuffer me to bear long the atrocious calumnies which his aſſaſſins were ſtill venting againſt him. I ſhould have conſidered myſelf as their accomplice, if, while it was in my power by inconteſtable facts to repel the odious charges with which they laboured to ſtain the memory of that unfortunate Monarch, I had not haſtened to eſtabliſh thoſe facts, by publiſhing them in the lifetime of all the perſons intereſted to contradict them, and by defying them to overturn my teſtimony. Although I did not fear their objections, it was my part to challenge them; and the ſilence they have preſerved for two years after that challenge, may doubtleſs be conſidered as a formal acknowledgement of the accuracy of my ſtatements.

Theſe were the motives that actuated me in dividing my work into two parts. The one, compoſed chiefly of details in which I was myſelf principally concerned, or of facts known only to the perſons whom I have mentioned, was that which I thought ſhould appear the firſt, and to which alone the title of *Private Memoirs* was ſuitable: the other is a faithful account of the principal events of the French Revolution, ſuch as

as they paſſed under my own eyes, for I was witneſs to almoſt all of them. I have added ſeveral intereſting anecdotes little known, of which I had it in my power to be exactly informed, and ſome of which have been altered or exaggerated by the writers of different parties.

This ſecond part will have no chaſms in the Hiſtory, and will ſupply thoſe which have been obſerved in the firſt. There might have been ſome reaſon to find fault with them, had I not precluded it by publiſhing that part, only as "Private Memoirs relative to the laſt year of "the reign of *Louis XVI*," and *not to the four preceding years*. This Chronological Account, and thoſe Memoirs, make a complete Hiſtory of the Revolution, from its commencement to the death of the King. I have omitted all the diſcuſſions of unintereſting details, idle talk, war of words, inſults, and miſerable quirks, which have often conſumed whole Sittings of thoſe Aſſemblies, of which the majority of the ſpeakers conſiſted of indifferent advocates and country pettifoggers. Nor have I admitted that immenſe number of Decrees, the voluminous and undigeſted collection of which can only be preſerved as a monument of ignorance, contradiction, phrenſy, injuſtice, and abſurdity I have thought it enough to mention the moſt remarkable of them, by reporting their chief tendencies. I have been particularly ſolicitous to give a very exact ac-

account of all the important facts. If they present a just idea of the Revolution, and its causes, principles and effects, and of the character and views of its authors, I have attained the end I proposed.

INTRO-

ANNALS

OF THE

FRENCH REVOLUTION.

INTRODUCTION.

Containing a concise View of the French Revolution, or rather of the different Revolutions that have taken place in France since the Meeting of the last States-General.

IT has been the grand object of almost all the writers upon the French Revolution, in their inquiries, compilations, and arguments, to prove that it is similar to the Re-

volutions that have happened in other countries; and chiefly to that which took place in England, in the reign of *Charles* the Firſt.

Some have employed their pens to ridicule the vain boaſtings and arrogated talents of the conductors of the Revolution in France, by ſhewing that they are only ſervile imitators of preceding Revolutions, with this difference, that they have polluted theirs with crimes more atrocious, and infinitely more numerous. Others endeavour to ſupport the courage and the hopes of the Royaliſts, by referring them to the re-eſtabliſhment of the houſe of *Stuart* upon the throne of England, as an infallible prototype of an approaching re-eſtabliſhment of the houſe of *Bourbon*.

But however ingenious theſe analogies may be, they are always inaccurate, and more calculated than they at firſt appear to be, to ſtrengthen the tyranny under which France at preſent groans. They tend, in fact, but to confirm the apathy of the ſuffering nation, and the deplorable ſecurity of all thoſe countries that have reaſon to dread the deſpotiſm of the oppreſſors.

The French may ſay: "If our Revolu-

"tion

" tion be ſimilar to all others, it will have a
" termination, as all others have had. The
" monarchy will ere long be re-eſtabliſhed,
" without our incurring freſh dangers to ac-
" celerate its reſtoration. We ſhall at leaſt
" have a wiſe and juſt government, ſuffi-
" ciently powerful to protect our perſons
" and properties. Let us remain quiet, let
" us have patience, perhaps the end of all
" our calamities is at hand."

Other nations may argue in like manner:
" Why ſhould we diſturb ourſelves about
" this Revolution? It will have no more
" effect upon us than all thoſe to which it
" is ſimilar have had. What is it to us
" whether or not the Government of France
" be more or leſs ſtable—more or leſs atro-
" cious? whether or not its commerce be
" deſtroyed, its manufactories ruined?—
" Our wealth will increaſe by the wreck of
" theirs, and we ſhall have the greater rea-
" ſon to love the Government under which
" we live."

Inſtead then of propagating or upholding ſuch errors, would it not be far more uſeful thoroughly to convince the French that their Revolution is not ſimilar, either in its principles or eſſential qualities, to any of

thoſe that have gone before it? that, far from being able to effect its own termination, it has a tendency to perpetuate itſelf, under different forms, more or leſs diſaſtrous, until thoſe who feel its oppreſſion ſhall unite to put an end to it; or until the ſucceſſive murders, tranſportations, and robberies of every proprietor, ſtifling all ſpirit of property, all ſentiment of patriotiſm, ſhall reduce the land, uncultivated and unpeopled, to a mere haunt for hordes of robbers, and make it an eaſy prey to the firſt Power that ſhall chooſe to ſeize upon it?

Would it not be more material, at the ſame time, to demonſtrate to all Kings, all Governments, all Proprietors in every country, that the ſole and neceſſary plan of the preſent deſpotiſm in France is to complete throughout Europe a general ſubverſion of the very foundations of ſocial order, of the principles of civilization, and to invade all property? that they are all conſequently ſtill more intereſted than France herſelf to put a ſtop, by every means yet remaining in their power*, to this horrible Revolution,

* I do not mean to ſay, nor do I think, that there remain many.

which

which ſtalks towards them with gigantic ſtrides; and which, ſooner or later, will bring down upon them thoſe calamities, of which it is now clear that we are but the earlieſt victims? for already have ſeveral nations ſhared our fate, and over every other does it evidently hang.

I ſay, ſuch is the ſole and neceſſary plan of the Directory, becauſe, in fact, it is by that alone they can command thoſe violent means, of which they are continually in need, to preſerve their power, or even their exiſtence. They talk, and will continue to talk of peace, in all their proclamations, becauſe it is the cry throughout France; but they neither do, nor can deſire, nor will they ever make a general, ſincere, and laſting one; for they cannot but be aware, that their Government, now deteſted by the whole nation, the plunderers only excepted, would never bear the teſt of that ſyſtem of juſtice, order, and moderation, which peace would compel them to eſtabliſh. Even truces would be fatal to them; for thoſe that have taken place within the laſt two years have all been marked by internal commotions, more or leſs alarming to them. Beſides, war and the revolutionary ſyſtem

are the only means of power left them, the only resource of finance they have remaining; and those furnish them with armies so numerous as to extend conquests and revolutions abroad, and secure subjection at home. They apparently authorise those enormous contributions levied on the countries they conquer or throw into a state of Revolution, those forced loans, those exactions of every kind, by which they obtain the immense supplies that they find necessary to satisfy the avidity of all their agents, to pay for crimes committed by the robbers in their service, and to cover their own share of the general plunder.

These are the invariable truths that cannot be too often repeated, and which should be rung through almost all the cabinets of Europe; for those of St. James's and Petersburg are perhaps the only ones that have been sensible of them*. They are too im-

* Gratitude and truth make it my duty to testify likewise, that England and Russia are the only States of Europe where the French Emigrants have found an asylum, and honourable relief. GEORGE III. and PAUL I. seem to have taken on themselves alone the care of discharging the debt of Royalty to the noble victims of its cause.

portant

portant not to be unfolded more circumſtantially.

It will always be very eaſy to find in every Revolution ſome points bearing a reſemblance to other Revolutions, becauſe the tactics of the Revolutions of Empires have ever been, and ever will be the ſame; according to their extent, the nature of their Government, the degree of their civilization, and other circumſtances. The ſame obſervations occur on the cauſes of thoſe Revolutions; it is always ſeen that they are to be imputed to the weakneſs of the perſon or perſons in whoſe hands the Government is placed, except when they are excited by a neighbouring nation, and ſupported by its armies.

As the ſolution of the problem, of the greater number ſubmitting to the ſmaller, reſults from the examination of every Government, it muſt thence neceſſarily follow, that there exiſts in all States a natural and invariable tendency towards a revolution, and that it always breaks out when the parties governing loſe the force requiſite to puniſh the reſiſtance, and to prevent the inſurrection, of the parties governed.

Theſe truths are ſo evident, that the proofs

of them are to be found in the hiſtory of all revolutions, ancient or modern; but in none ſhall we find the eſſential qualities, qualities too little attended to, which diſtinguiſh the French Revolution from all others; and which, while they explain the cauſes of its horrible atrociouſneſs, and the phenomenon of its duration, elude the reach of human conjecture as to the criſis of its termination, and the order of things by which it will be ſucceeded, previous to the unavoidable re-eſtabliſhment of Monarchy.

Hitherto all Revolutions were at an end as ſoon as the removal, or uſurpation, of the ſupreme power was completely effected; and the deſtruction of the former Government was immediately followed by the eſtabliſhment of another, more or leſs deſpotic, but ſettled, vigorous, and abſolute. In France, on the contrary, we have ſeen a Revolution, or rather a ſeries of Revolutions, take place, without being followed by a ſtable and regular Government, although at every change the former ſupreme power was completely ſuperſeded. So that, although our unhappy country has been overflowed with ſo much blood, and tainted with ſo many crimes, it is not to a ſingle Revolution they are to be charged,

charged, but to five ſucceſſive ones: and who can ſay to how many more it may be expoſed? how many remaining heads there are of this Revolutionary Hydra, which preys upon it? who ſhall ſtrike off the laſt? Such are the characteriſtics by which no other Revolution is marked; but no one has yet pointed out or inquired into the reaſon of this difference.

Popular inſurrections, and an army, have hitherto been the uſual means, or chief inſtruments, of every Revolution; but thoſe inſurrections being of the moſt ignorant and unthinking claſs of the people were always fomented by a certain number of factious men, devoted to, and dependent upon, ſome ambitious chief, daring, brave, of military talents, ſole and abſolute conductor of every ſtep of the revolt, and maſter of all the means of the inſurrection. In the hands of this chief, the ſoldiers, or people armed, were but machines, which he ſet in motion or reſtrained according to his pleaſure, and of which he always made uſe to put an end to revolutionary diſorders and crimes, as ſoon as the object of the Revolution was gained. So *Cæſar* and *Cromwell*, after they had uſurped the ſupreme power, loſt no time in

ſecuring

had felt for him ended with the efforts of thoſe who had excited it.

Mr. *Necker*, whom the multitude had aſſociated with him in their homage, ſtill preſerved for ſome time his adorers, and that little cabal which was for ever exalting him to the ſkies. But as he was inferior even to the Duke of *Orleans* in military talents and diſpoſitions, he was as little calculated to be the leader of a Revolution, or of a great conſpiracy: for which reaſon his panegyriſts then confined themſelves in their pamphlets and placards, with which the capital was over-run, to inſinuating that the only means of ſaving the ſtate, was to declare Mr. *Necker* DICTATOR; or at leaſt to confer upon him, under ſome title more conſiſtent with the Monarchy, the authority and powers attached to that republican office. In fact, if after his diſmiſſion, in the month of July 1789, he had dared to make this a condition of his return to the Miniſtry, it is more than probable that the King would have been under the neceſſity of agreeing to it, and perhaps of re-eſtabliſhing in his perſon the office of Mayor of the Palace. At that moment he might have demanded any thing:

eight

eight days later, he might have been refuſed every thing; and very ſoon after, he was reduced to ſneak out of the kingdom, in order to eſcape the effects of the general contempt and cenſure which he had brought upon himſelf.

General *La Fayette*, who then commanded the Pariſian National Guard, gathered the wrecks of all this popularity, and might have turned them to the greateſt advantage, if he had poſſeſſed "that reſolute character, "and heroic judgment," of which Cardinal *De Retz* ſpeaks, and "which ſerves to diſ- "tinguiſh what is truly honourable and "uſeful from what is only extraordi- "nary, and what is extraordinary from "what is impoſſible." With the genius, talents, and ambition of *Cromwell*, he might have gone as great a length; with a leſs criminal ambition he might at leaſt have made himſelf maſter of the Revolution, and have directed it at his pleaſure: in a word, he might have ſecured the triumph of whatever party he ſhould have declared himſelf the leader. But as unfit for ſupporting the character of *Monk* as that of *Cromwell*, he ſoon betrayed the ſecret of his incapacity to all the world, and was diſtinguiſhed in the crowd

crowd of conſtitutional ringleaders only by his three-coloured plume, his epaulettes, white horſe, and famous ſaying upon inſurrection*;—a ſaying, no doubt, ſuggeſted by the ambition of outſtripping all the votaries of popular favour: yet he notwithſtanding never diſcovered, and perhaps did not well know himſelf, what he wanted with all this popularity.

The Revolution, at the period when the Faction that had begun it for the Duke of *Orleans* became ſenſible that he was too much a coward to be the leader of it, and when *La Fayette* diſcovered his inability to conduct it, was too far advanced to recede or to ſtop; and it continued its progreſs, but in a line that no other Revolution had taken —I mean, without a military chief, without the intervention of the army, and to gain triumphs, not for any ambitious conſpirator,

* "*L'Inſurrection eſt le plus ſaint des devoirs, quand l'oppreſſion eſt à ſon comble.*" "Inſurrection is the moſt ſacred of duties, when oppreſſion is at its height." This ſaying, ſo miſ-timed in the reign of LOUIS XVI. ſo dangerous at a moment when the ſpirit of inſurrection was rearing its head throughout the kingdom, would ſoon be conſecrated as a ſalutary principle, were it now to become the cry for the whole nation's rallying againſt the preſent deſpotiſm.

but for political and moral innovations of the moſt dangerous nature; the moſt ſuited to miſlead the multitude, incapable of comprehending them, and to let looſe all the paſſions *. The more violent combined to deſtroy every thing, and their fatal coalition gave birth to Jacobiniſm, that terrible monſter till then unknown, and till now not ſufficiently unmaſked. This monſter took upon itſelf alone to carry on our Revolution; it directed, it executed all the operations of it, all the exploſions, all the outrages: it every where appointed the moſt active leaders, and, as inſtruments, employed the profligates of every country. Its power far ſurpaſſed that which has been attributed to the Inquiſition, and other fiery tribunals, by thoſe who have ſpoken of them with the greateſt exaggeration. Its centre was at Paris; and its rays, formed by particular clubs in every town, in every little borough, overſpread the whole ſurface of the kingdom. The conſtant correſpondence kept up between thoſe clubs and that of the capital, or, to uſe

* The Rights of Man, the Sovereignty of the People, abſolute Equality, the annihilation of all the principles of Religion and Morality, of all the orders of Society, &c. &c.

their

their own expreſſion, *des Sociétés populaires affiliées avec la Société mere*—" between the " affiliated popular Societies and the parent " Society," was as ſecret and as ſpeedy as that of Free-Maſons. In a word, the Jacobin Clubs had prevailed in cauſing themſelves to be looked up to as the real national repreſentation. Under that pretence, they cenſured all the authorities in the moſt imperious manner; and whenever their denunciations, petitions, or addreſſes failed to produce an immediate effect, they gained their point by having recourſe to inſurrection, aſſaſſination, and fire. While Jacobiniſm thus ſubjected all France to its controul, an immenſe number of emiſſaries propagated its doctrines among foreign nations, and prepared new conqueſts for it.

The National Aſſembly, the capital, indeed we may ſay all France, was divided into three very diſtinct parties. The moſt conſiderable in number, but unhappily the weakeſt through a deficiency of plan and reſolution, was the party purely Royal: it was adverſe to every kind of Revolution, and was ſolely deſirous of ſome improvements, with the reform of abuſes and pecuniary privileges:—the moſt able, and moſt intriguing,

triguing, was the Conſtitutional party, or that which was deſirous of giving France a new monarchical conſtitution, but modified after the manner of the Engliſh, or even the American, by a houſe of repreſentatives. The third party was the moſt dangerous of all, by its daring ſpirit, by its power, and by the number of proſelytes it daily acquired in all quarters of the kingdom: it compriſed the Democrats of every deſcription, from the Jacobin Clubs, calling themſelves *Friends of the Conſtitution*, to the anarchs and robbers.

The Democratic party, which at firſt was only auxiliary to the Conſtitutional one, in the end annihilated it, and became itſelf ſub-divided into ſeveral other parties, whoſe fatal ſtruggles produced the ſubſequent Revolutions, and may ſtill produce many more. But in principle, the Conſtitutionaliſts and the Democrats formed two diſtinct, though confederate, factions; both were deſirous of a Revolution, and employed all the uſual means of accompliſhing it, except troops, which could be of no uſe to them, for neither of them had a leader to put at the head of the army. But as it was equally of importance to both, that the

King ſhould be deprived of the power of making uſe of it againſt them, they laboured in concert to diſorganize it, and the complete ſucceſs of that manœuvre was but too fully proved by the fatal iſſue of the departure of the Royal Family for Montmedi. The Revolution then took a more daring and rapid ſtride, which was concluded by the pretended Conſtitution Act of 1791. The incoherence of its principles and the defects of its inſtitutions preſent a faithful picture of the diſunion of its authors, and of the oppoſite intereſts by which they were ſwayed. It was, properly ſpeaking, a compact between the faction of the Conſtitutionaliſts and that of the Democrats, in which they mutually made conceſſions and ſacrifices.

Be that as it may, this abſurd Conſtitution, the everlaſting ſource of remorſe or ſorrow to all who bore part in it, might have been got over without a ſhock, and led back to the old principles of Monarchical Government, if the Aſſembly who framed it had not ſeparated before they witneſſed the execution of it; if, in impoſing on the King the obligation to maintain it, they had not deprived him of the

power

power and the means; and above all, if the certain conſequence of the new mode of proceeding at the elections had not been to ſecure, in the ſecond Aſſembly, a conſiderable majority of the Democratic againſt the Conſtitutional party.

The ſecond Aſſembly was alſo divided by three factions, the weakeſt of which was the one that wiſhed to maintain the Conſtitution. The other two were for a new Revolution and a Republic; but they differed in this, that the former, compoſed of the Briſſotins and Girondiſts, was for effecting it gradually, by beginning with diveſting the King of popularity, and allowing the public mind time to wean itſelf from its natural attachment to monarchy; and the latter, which was the leaſt numerous, was eager to have the Republic eſtabliſhed as ſoon as poſſible. Theſe two factions, having the ſame object in view, though taking different roads, were neceſſarily auxiliaries to each other; and the pamphlets, excitations to commotion, and revolutionary meaſures of both, equally tended to overthrow the Conſtitution of 1791.

Thoſe different factions, almoſt entirely compoſed of advocates, ſolicitors, apoſtate

prieſts, doctors, and a few literary men, having no military chief capable of taking the command of the army, dreaded the troops, who had ſworn allegiance to the Conſtitution, and obedience to the King, and who moreover might be influenced by their officers, among whom there ſtill remained ſome Royaliſts. The ſureſt way to get rid of all uneaſineſs on this ſubject, was to employ the army in defending the frontiers. For this purpoſe a foreign war was neceſſary, to which it was known that the King and his Council were equally averſe. No more was wanting to determine the attack which was directed, almoſt at the ſame time, againſt all the miniſters, in order to compel them to retire, and to put the King under the neceſſity of appointing others more diſpoſed to ſecond the views of the parties. Unhappily this attempt was attended with all the ſucceſs they had promiſed themſelves, and one of the firſt acts of the new miniſtry was to declare war againſt the Emperor. At the ſame time, the emigration that had been provoked, and which was almoſt every where applauded even by the loweſt claſs of people, robbed France of the flower of the

Royal

Royal party, and left the King, deprived of his beſt defenders, expoſed to the ſuſpicions and inſults that ſprang from innumerable calumnies, for which the diſtaſters at the beginning of the war furniſhed but too many opportunities.

In this manner was prepared and accelerated the new Revolution, which was accompliſhed on the 10th of Auguſt, 1792, by the depoſition and impriſonment of the King, and by the moſt flagrant violation of the Conſtitution of 1791. The latter, however, was not entirely abandoned on that day; for the project of the Girondiſts, who had laid the plot of that horrible conſpiracy, was then only to declare the King's depoſition, in order to place the Prince Royal upon the Throne, under the guidance of a Regency compoſed of their own creatures; but they were hurried away much farther than they meant to go, by the violence with which the moſt furious of the Jacobins, who took the lead in the inſurrection, conducted all their enterpriſes. The Prince Royal, inſtead of being crowned, was ſhut up in the Temple; and if France at that moment was not declared a Republic, it was leſs owing to any remaining re-

to introduce into the Assembly the calm and moderation that were necessary to give the new Republic a wise and solid organization. But the superiority of their knowledge, talents, and eloquence, which their opponents could not dispute, had no power over tigers thirsting for blood, who neither attended to nor suffered motions but of the blackest tendency. No doubt they had occasion for atrocities upon atrocities to prepare the terror-struck Nation to allow them to commit, in its name, the most execrable of all, the murder of the unfortunate Louis XVI: and that martyrdom was necessary to bring about a third Revolution, already brewing in the brain of *Robespierre*. Fear had greatly contributed to the two former: but this was effected by terror alone, without popular tumults, or the intervention of the armies; which, now drawn by their conquests beyond the frontiers, never heard any thing of the Revolutions at home, till they were accomplished, and always obeyed the prevailing faction, by whom they were paid.

By the degree of ferocity discovered by the members of the Convention in passing sentence upon the King, and in the debates relative

relative to the Conſtitution of 1793, *Robeſpierre* was enabled to mark which of the deputies were likely to ſecond his views, and which of them it was his part to ſacrifice.

The people could not but with tranſport receive a Conſtitution which ſeemed to realize the chimera of its Sovereignty, but which would only have given a kind of conſtruction to Anarchy, if the execution of this new code had not been ſuſpended under the pretext, belonging in common to all acts of deſpotiſm and tyranny, of *the ſupreme law of the ſafety of the State.* This ſuſpenſion was effected, by eſtabliſhing the Proviſionary Government, which, under the title of Revolutionary Government, concentrated all the powers in the National Convention until there was an end to the war and all inteſtine troubles.

Although the Faction, at the head of which *Robeſpierre* was, had a decided majority in the Aſſembly, and might conſequently have conſidered themſelves as really and excluſively exerciſing the Sovereign Power, he was a demagogue of too deſpotic a nature to ſtomach even the appearance of ſharing the empire with ſo many Co-Sovereigns. He greatly reduced their number,

ber, by causing all the powers invested in the National Assembly by the decrees that had established the Revolutionary Government, to be transferred to a Committee, to which he got himself appointed, and where he was sure of the sole rule, by obtaining for colleagues men less daring than himself, though equally wicked; such as *Couthon*, *St. Just*, *Barrere*, and others like them. This Committee, who had the assurance to style themselves THE COMMITTEE OF PUBLIC SAFETY, very soon seized upon both the Legislative and Executive Powers, and exercised them with the most sanguinary tyranny ever yet heard of. The Ministers were merely their clerks; and the subjugated Assembly, without murmur or objection, passed all the Revolutionary laws which were proposed, or rather dictated, by them. One of their most horrible and decisive conceptions was that of those Revolutionary Tribunals which covered France with scaffolds, where thousands of victims of every rank, age, and sex, were daily sacrificed; so that no class of men could be free from that stupefying and general terror which *Robespierre* found it necessary to spread, in order to establish and

and make his power known. He ſoon himſelf dragged ſome members of his own party, ſuch as *Danton*, *Camille des Moulins*, and others, whoſe energy and popularity had offended him, before one of thoſe Tribunals, where he had them condemned to death. By the ſame means he got rid of the chief leaders among the Briſſotins and Girondiſts; while he cauſed all the moderate Republican party who were ſtill members of the Aſſembly, except thoſe who had time and addreſs to eſcape, to be ſent to priſon, in order to be ſentenced and executed on the firſt occaſion.

In this manner ended the third Revolution, in which the People, frozen with terror, did not dare to take a part. Inſtead of an army of ſoldiers, *Robeſpierre* employed an army of executioners and aſſaſſins, ſet up as Revolutionary Judges; and the guillotine, ſtriking or menacing all heads indiſcriminately, made France, from one end to the other, ſubmit to him, by the means of terror or of death. Thus was this nation, formerly ſo proud even to idolatry of its Kings, ſeen to expiate, by rivers of blood, the crime of having ſuffered his to be ſpilt who was the moſt virtuous of all their Monarchs.

tal againſt him and againſt the Jacobins. The parties came to blows, and victory remained uncertain for ſeveral hours, but at length declared againſt *Robeſpierre:* in the ſpace of a day that execrable monſter was dragged from the higheſt pitch of power ever attained by any tyrant, to the very ſcaffold that was ſtill reeking with the blood of his laſt victims. His principal accomplices in the Committee of Public Safety, in the Commune, in the National Guard, in the Revolutionary Tribunal, and many of his agents in the Provinces, met the ſame fate. The Revolutionary Tribunals were ſuppreſſed, and the priſons thrown open to all whom they had caſt into them.

This fourth Revolution, in which the Faction then eſteemed the moderate party overthrew the Terroriſts and ſeized the ſupreme power, was no leſs complete than thoſe which had preceded it, and produced the Conſtitution of 1795. All France received as a great bleſſing a Conſtitution that delivered them from the Revolutionary Government, and its infernal policy. Beſides, it had, in ſpite of great defects, the merit of coming nearer than the two preceding ones, to the principles of order, of juſtice,

and

and real liberty; the violation of which had, for five years before, been the ſource of ſo many diſaſters and ſo many crimes. The Royaliſts, conſidering it as a ſtep towards Monarchy, were unfortunately ſo imprudent as to triumph in it; and their joy, as premature as indiſcreet, alarmed the Aſſembly to ſuch a degree, that they paſſed a law, ordaining that two-thirds of their members ſhould be elected by the Primary Aſſemblies, or appointed by themſelves, to form two-thirds of the Legiſlative Body which was to ſucceed the Convention. Although this decree, for which *the ſupreme law of the ſafety of the State* was alſo made a pretext, was manifeſtly inconſiſtent with the new Conſtitution, it was annexed to it, and directed to the Primary Aſſemblies to be accepted with it in the ſame reſolution.

Notwithſtanding this precaution, and all the means taken by the Convention to enſure its ſucceſs, this decree was rejected by conſiderable majorities in a great number of Primary Aſſemblies, and particularly in almoſt all thoſe of Paris and the neighbouring departments. There were ſome that refuſed to come to any reſolution reſpecting it. Nevertheleſs, as the Convention had reſerved

ſerved to themſelves the general examination of the ſcrutinies, they did not heſitate to declare, that the Decree had obtained the majority of ſuffrages, though the contrary was evidently demonſtrated by a compariſon of the whole number of the citizens who had attended the Primary Aſſemblies, with the number of thoſe ſaid by the Aſſembly to have voted in favour of it. In vain were the daily papers filled with the ſtrongeſt remonſtrances againſt this act of deſpotiſm. A moſt violent agitation appeared in the capital, and two or three ſections even reſolved to oppoſe the execution of the decree by force; but ill armed, without a plan, and without a military leader, on the firſt attempt they made, the Aſſembly ordered ſome detachments of the troops of the line, on whom they could depend, to march againſt them, and they were cut to pieces in a dreadful manner.

It was under theſe ſanguinary auſpices that the two Councils, forming the fourth National Aſſembly, were opened. The freſh members, many of whom were honeſt well-meaning men, finding themſelves in too inconſiderable a minority to attempt a party, had the prudence to content themſelves

ſelves with ſupporting the moſt moderate opinions, and with following the public judgment without anticipating it.

In the year following, the bias of the public mind, perhaps too haſtily turned towards Royalty, ſhowed itſelf in the elections of the members for the new Third, ſo clearly as to alarm the Regicides who compoſed the Directory, and the Conventionaliſts, who ſtill made a third of the Legiſlative Body; nor did they loſe a moment in deviſing means for their defence. That which appeared the ſureſt to them was, to publiſh notices of plots among the Royaliſts, and annex one or more denunciations, in terms ſo vague as to leave room for implicating, when neceſſary, all their adverſaries; while by the help of this impoſture they procured ſome ſecret information, artfully fabricated, and ever eaſily obtained through threats or rewards by thoſe who have at command the guillotine and the public treaſure.

This maſked battery was ready to be opened before the members of the new Third took their ſeats. Theſe at firſt confined themſelves to the ſecuring of a conſtant majority in the two Councils in fa-

vour of the moderate opinions; but in a little time every ſitting was marked by the repeal of ſome Revolutionary law, or by ſome decree tending to reſtrain the Executive Authority within the limits fixed by the Conſtitution.

The Directory, alarmed at the abridgement of their power, and dreading ſtill more ſerious attacks upon it, came to a reſolution of no longer poſtponing the blow they had been meditating againſt the Legiſlative Aſſembly: but no ſooner did the troops which they purpoſed to employ in the buſineſs paſs the line fixed by the Conſtitution, than their approach was publiſhed in ſeveral journals, and created a ſuſpicion of the hoſtile intentions of the Directory. The Council of Five Hundred ſent them a meſſage on this occaſion. The anſwer returned by the Directory was unmeaning, and more calculated to confirm than diſpel the ſuſpicion. Another meſſage, in a loftier ſtyle than the former, was ſent to demand a more explicit reply; and, at the ſame time, the Council of Five Hundred charged one of its Committees to procure every information neceſſary to enable the Legiſlative Body to diſcover and puniſh the real culprits.

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The violent cenſures which now broke out on all ſides againſt the Directory compelled them to withdraw their troops; and if at that moment the Council of Five Hundred, inſtead of waſting time in long ſpeeches and vain threats, had boldly taken advantage of the immenſe power they might have derived from the wiſhes and favour of the People, the Directory, already weakened by diviſions among themſelves, would have been ruined. But the want of union, of a plan, and of energy in the majority of the Legiſlative Body; the imprudent ſecurity of ſome, the ſcruples or deſertions of others, and the want of forecaſt in all, enſured the Directory ſucceſs in whatever they choſe to attempt; and they determined upon an enterpriſe of the moſt vigorous nature, which was completely executed in a moment without the ſmalleſt oppoſition.

In the morning between the 4th and 5th of September the pretended diſcovery of a plot among the Royaliſts was announced, at one o'clock in the morning, by the firing of cannon: at the ſame inſtant *Barthelemi*, a member of the Directory, was arreſted; *Carnot*, his colleague, diſappeared; and the Palace of the Tuileries was ſur-

rounded with troops, which were immediately joined by the Guards of the Legiſlative Body, who were terrified, or had been previouſly corrupted. The Inſpectors appointed by the Aſſembly who were ſtill ſitting in their Committee, were taken up and carried to the priſons in the Temple, as were the more obſtreperous members in the majority of the two Councils, and the editors and printers of moſt of the Paris journals; for many of them, and moſt of the deputies on the liſt of proſcription, had concealed themſelves or taken flight.

No ſooner was this outrageous enterpriſe (which under the pretence of ſaving the Republic deſtroyed the very baſis of the Conſtitution) accompliſhed, than the Directory haſtened to get it ſanctioned by the minority of the two Councils, now conſiſting almoſt entirely of the members of the Convention, who had remained in the Legiſlative Body. The two Councils, thus broken and rendered contemptible, aſſembled by order of the Directory, not where they uſually ſat, but the one at a Theatre, and the other at a Hall appertaining to the School for Surgery, and completed their diſgrace, not only by approving the act of tyranny that had

had been practiſed againſt their colleagues, but by becoming themſelves the accomplices or rather the paſſive inſtruments of it; for it was alſo by the order of the Directory, and ſimply on their denunciation, without any inquiry whatſoever, that they condemned all the perſons arreſted, or ordered into cuſtody, to be tranſported to ſome place which ſhould be fixed upon by the Executive Power. This egregious ſentence was ſoon followed by a decree annulling the elections of a great many members of the new Third, who, though not included in the firſt liſt of proſcription, had evinced ſome principles of order, juſtice, or liberty, incompatible with the arbitrary and tyrannic Government which the Directory had now founded on the ruins of the Conſtitution of 1795.

This fifth Revolution, as complete as the preceding ones, differed from them eſſentially in the facility and promptneſs with which it was effected, although the Party which prevailed, that is to ſay, the majority of the Directory and the minority of the Legiſlative Body, had to combat not only againſt the Conſtitution, but againſt the opinion and even againſt the indignation of the Public. That moral force, on which

the majority of the two Councils had unluckily placed all their reliance, vaniſhed in an inſtant before the phyſical force of a detachment of troops conſiſting of ſix or ſeven hundred men; ſo true is it, that the power of the public opinion, ridiculouſly exaggerated in theſe days, is and can be no more, under a firm and well-ordered Government, than a mere fancy. Men accuſtom themſelves too eaſily to take for public opinion the private opinions made public by certain writers, whoſe caution or audaciouſneſs depends always upon the energy or feebleneſs of the Supreme Authority. It is the ſame thing with popular commotions: they are eaſily excited under a weak Government, which does not poſſeſs the wiſdom to prevent or the ſpirit to ſuppreſs them; but a vigorous, juſt, and ſtrict Government has nothing to fear from them. The Directory, compelled to withdraw the larger body of troops, which they had thought neceſſary to enſure the Revolution they were meditating, diſcovered, no doubt, great ability in ſecuring the two Councils, by appearing to dread them: but it was chiefly to the energy of their meaſures, and to the concentration and promptneſs with which they were executed,

cuted, that they owed their ſucceſs. Two days before, the Legiſlative Body might, without obſtruction, have impeached, arreſted, and even outlawed, the majority of the Directory, who were execrated by the Public under the title of Triumvirate; and, if requiſite, they would have been ſupported by more than 30,000 armed citizens, who, with *Pichegru* and *Villot* at their head, would ſoon have diſperſed, and perhaps brought over, the feeble detachments of troops of the line which the Directory had at their command. The Legiſlative Body, relying too much upon its popularity, did not ſufficiently conſider, that the People, whoſe impetuoſity is commonly deciſive when allowed to take advantage in attack, are always feeble on the defenſive, and totally unable to withſtand every aſſault made previous to an inſurrection, for it is always eaſy to prevent their aſſembling. It was on this principle that the Directory founded their operations, and the 5th of September too well proves how juſtly. That day reduced the Legiſlative Body, by the moſt degrading ſubjugation, to a mere diſguſting caricature of National Repreſentation; it inveſted the Directory with the moſt arbitrary and tyran-

nic power, and reſtored the ſyſtem of *Robeſpiere*, under a form leſs bloody, but not leſs pernicious; for the Revolutionary Tribunals which that monſter had eſtabliſhed, were ſcarcely more expeditious than the preſent military ones. The power of arbitrary and unlimited tranſportation is, in time, as deſtructive as the guillotine, without poſſeſſing, like that, the advantage of exciting a ſalutary horror, which, by recovering the people from the ſtate of ſtupor and apathy, the conſtant effects of terror, gives them both recollection and force to break their chains. Though, in violating the moſt eſſential regulations of the Conſtitution, the Directory obtained a temporary confirmation of their power, their example has pointed out to thoſe who wiſh to put an end to it the path they muſt purſue, as has the example of the two Councils, that which they muſt avoid. The Factions adverſe to the prevailing one, are cruſhed and intimidated, but not deſtroyed; and the annual change of a third of the Legiſlative Body, and of a member of the Directory, will produce new parties or invigorate the old. Thus the cataſtrophe of the 5th of September, far from having conſolidated the Republic,

public, or rather the deſpotic Oligarchy that reigns in France, may be conſidered as one ſtep more towards Monarchy. In fact, the country draws nearer to it in proportion as the public power becomes more concentrated, and it is at preſent more concentrated than ever it was. It is now no longer to be wreſted from the Popular Societies, from the Departments, from the Municipalities, or even from the Legiſlative Body; it is altogether in the hands of the Directory; and from them it will be torn by the ſame means which they employed to ſeize upon it.

Such is the Revolution, more or leſs advanced, but inevitable, which is ſtill to be expected; and it will but prepare the way for others, if it end not in the re-eſtabliſhment of Monarchy. The honour of ſtriking off the laſt head of the Revolutionary Hydra is reſerved for that Party, for that Hero, whoever he be, who ſhall have the ſpirit to diſplay the white cockade, and cry aloud—VIVE LE ROI*!

The

* Let the Powers of Europe, who for ſeven years have been draining their countries of men and money, and

ANNALS

OF THE

FRENCH REVOLUTION.

CHAPTER I.

*The Retreat of the Archbiſhop of Sens—Aſſembly of Notables—Fermentation produced by it—Mr. Necker—Memorial from the Princes—The Duke of Orleans—Letter from the Peers to the King—Convocation of the States-General—Violent Inſurrections *.*

THE French Monarchy, after an exiſtence of more than thirteen centuries attended with a variety of viciſſitudes, had at length arrived at the limits which nature ſeemed to have

* The diſturbances and inſurrections antecedent to this period have been related in the firſt five Chapters of my Private Memoirs publiſhed in 1797.

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prescribed to it, and beyond which its extent became unwieldy. In this long course of time France had never been conquered, and intestine dissensions had been less frequent there than in the other States of Europe. Under the reign of *Louis XIV.* it attained the highest degree of glory and prosperity, became in a manner the country of great men of every kind, and was considered as the first of Nations. The supreme power was consolidated as well by the wisdom as by the firmness with which it was exercised.

At the death of *Louis XIV.* France, still governed by his shade, presented a grand phenomenon. The springs of Administration preserved, during a long minority, by the force of habit alone, the regular and vigorous action which had been impressed upon them; and while the fortunes of individuals were shaken, and thousands of private families ruined, by *Law's* scheme, the public security received no injury whatever; so deeply rooted was the respect for the King's authority.

During the Administration of Cardinal *Fleury* the Royal power experienced no diminution, because it was employed with moderation. The peace of 1748 introduced

a new order of things. In 1750, the King, wiſhing to eſtabliſh public credit by a ſinking fund, laid a tax of a twentieth part on all income without diſtinction. The Clergy and the Provincial States remonſtrated againſt this tax, as infringing upon their privileges, and, unfortunately for the State, their remonſtrances prevailed. The Clergy were exempted from the tax, and permitted to make a voluntary gift in its ſtead. The Provincial States were allowed to enter into ſubſcriptions. By this precedent it was ſeen that it was poſſible to oppoſe the King's will ſucceſsfully, even when it was juſt.

The Government was farther injured by the inſufficiency and verſatility of its deciſions upon the religious queſtions which aroſe between the Clergy and the Parliaments. The Royal authority loſt alſo much of its weight by the great influence which intereſt and intrigue had in the appointment of perſons to the chief employments. Men who were neither formed by habit nor taſte to diligence, or who had no experience in Adminiſtration, no knowledge of buſineſs, were placed in the offices of the *Colberts*, *Louvois*, *d'Argenſons*, and *Machaults*. An augmentation of the expences of the State, and

and a neceſſity for having recourſe to new taxes to meet them, were the conſequence. Thence thoſe frequent diſputes with the Parliaments, and thoſe continual remonſtrances the boldneſs of which kept pace with the weakneſs of the Miniſtry. Beds of Juſtice were multiplied, and Courts were ſuſpended, ſuppreſſed, and re-eſtabliſhed, without becoming more docile. Acts of authority exerciſed againſt the Magiſtrates made their reſiſtance but the more illuſtrious.

At the ſame period of time there aroſe an audacious and guilty ſect, who, under the name of *Philoſophy*, created a new power, which they called *Public Opinion*, and of which they conſtituted themſelves the organs. Its ſeat exiſted no where, and its Decrees were promulgated only by ſeditious writings and inſolent declamations, which, far from expreſſing the general ſentiment or wiſh, were found, on examination, to contain merely the opinions that ſome pſeudo-philoſophers took it into their heads to publiſh. They aſſailed both the Altar and the Throne, Morality and Subordination, ſometimes with the weapons of ridicule, at others by making a queſtion of the wiſdom of all the inſtitutions rendered ſacred by their

their antiquity. They ſummoned before them Miniſters, Generals, and all the Agents of public power—frequently determined their appointment and their diſgrace.

Under *Louis XVI*, this new Sovereignty, which the writers and factious of all countries prided themſelves on being called to participate, became ſtill more formidable. The ſpurious philoſophy found proſelytes even in the Council of the King. The errors of the Adminiſtration grew more ſerious, and the very virtues of the Prince proved injurious to his power. The firſt years of this reign were marked by popular commotions, occaſioned by the high price of corn. The Government thought that they could remedy this by addreſſing diſſertations to the people, while inſurrections, from being unpuniſhed, multiplied.

The American war, into which *Louis XVI.* was unfortunately ſeduced by counſels as impolitic as they were immoral, opened in France new buds of rebellion: it at once ſet the example and taught the arts of it. Confuſed ideas of Liberty, of Independence, and of Democracy, fermented in the brains of men, and prepared a general exploſion, which was accelerated by the unſkilfulneſs of a Mi-

a Miniſter born a republican. He introduced republican inſtitutions into the French Monarchy, and initiated the people into the knowledge of affairs of State. A deſign, not more ambitious than fooliſh, of acquiring great popularity, made him adopt the project of providing for the expences of the war without increaſing the taxes; which he did by loans, the intereſt of which conſiderably augmented the *deficit* that already exiſted in the finances. The extraordinary means to which the Miniſters who ſucceeded Mr. *Necker* were obliged to have recourſe to cover that fatal *deficit*, gave riſe to the moſt violent declamations againſt the miſmanagement of the revenues of the State. The oppoſition of the Parliaments compelled the King to convoke an Aſſembly of *Notables*. His Majeſty propoſed to them a new ſyſtem of taxation, and the eſtabliſhment of Provincial Aſſemblies throughout the kingdom. The *Notables* aſſented to the propoſal relative to Provincial Aſſemblies, but rejected the idea of all new taxation, and declared themſelves incompetent to conſent to any. The Parliament followed this example, and invited the King to aſſemble the States-General. Their convocation was then immediately

diately demanded in every part of the Kingdom, and became the rallying cry of the Factious. The Miniſtry, embarraſſed, and endeavouring to gain time, had the extreme imprudence to invite the whole Nation to aſſiſt the King with their counſels. From that moment every pretender to genius had his plan for a Conſtitution, his ſyſtem for a Government. The Kingdom was deluged with abſurd and inflammatory writings. The diſcontent and fermentation daily increaſing very ſoon brought France to that ſtate of general agitation and diſorder which had preceded the commotions of the *Fronde*, the character and conſequences of which are energetically depicted by Cardinal *de Retz*. "The Parliament," ſays he, "murmured at the edict of the Tarif, and as ſoon as they murmured every body's eyes were opened; but ſtill they groped, as if in the dark, for laws which were no longer to be found. Men inquired of one another for them; and in this agitation, the queſtions which their mutual explanations gave riſe to, obſcure as they were, and venerable by their obſcurity, became problematic, and for that reaſon odious to one half of them. The People entered the ſanctuary: they drew aſide the veil,

veil, which ought ever to cover all that can be ſaid, or all that can be thought, of the rights of Nations, and of thoſe of Kings, which never agree ſo well as in ſilence*."

Such was the ſtate of the minds of men in France, when *Louis XVI.* engaged to convoke the States-General. At that period commence the facts which I have undertaken to relate.

The retreat of the Archbiſhop of *Sens* was celebrated at Paris with thoſe ſeditious tranſports of joy, inſulting to the Royal authority, to which his extravagant conduct had expoſed all the agents of the Government. The day after his departure, the mob, aſſembling at the *Place-Dauphine*, made a bonfire, in which they burnt a whimſical figure, dreſſed in a red caſſock, repreſenting the Cardinal. To prevent a repetition of this indecent farce on the following day, which had been announced, a conſiderable detachment of the Paris Guards was ſtationed at the *Pont-neuf*, with orders to let no one paſs to the *Place-Dauphine*, except perſons reſiding there. The people ran thither in a crowd, and attempted to

* Memoirs of Cardinal *de Retz*, vol. 1. book ii.

force

force the Guard; but they defended themſelves vigorouſly, and killed or wounded about a hundred and fifty perſons. The mutineers were not diſheartened by this check. They inſulted and ill-treated all the ſoldiers of the watch who paſſed the ſtreets in their uniform. Small bodies both of the foot and horſe guards were ſtopped, and their arms taken away. The ſentry-box on the *Pont-neuf* and ſome others were burnt, while acclamations were ſhouted to *Henry IV.* and to the French and Swiſs Guards. This cajolery, which the year after brought over the former regiment to the populace, was now addreſſed to both as a return of thanks for their inaction, or as an invitation to them to refuſe their ſervice, ſhould they be called upon. But it did not produce the hoped effect; for the very next day both thoſe regiments marched againſt the rebels, diſperſed all the mobs, and put an end to the tumult and diſorder which had prevailed for three days in the capital. It is not irrelevant to obſerve here, that the very perſons who were ſeen at that juncture haranguing and exciting the populace to revolt, were thoſe who were afterwards ſeen aſſuming the lead in all the rebellious commotions that have

taken place in the courſe of the Revolution. In all great towns there is a certain number of worthleſs people, who are idle, turbulent, and audacious, the conſtant promoters of diſorder, becauſe it is favourable to their rogueries, and who are ever ready to join the firſt ringleader willing to take their crimes into pay. The officers of the police ought to exert their utmoſt vigilance in obtaining a knowledge of all perſons of this claſs; they ſhould be acquainted with the abode of every one of them, their connections, their places of reſort, and never loſe ſight of them, particularly at junctures in which the public tranquillity is in any danger. It is always eaſier to prevent than to ſuppreſs inſurrections, and the ſureſt mode of preventing them is to ſecure in time thoſe perſons who alone are capable of exciting them.

Sept. 1788.] At this period Marſhal *Biron*, who was the Colonel of the French Guards, died; an event which may be conſidered as one of thoſe that contributed to the Revolution. The ſubordination and fidelity of that regiment depended in a very great meaſure upon the attachment which the ſoldiers had to their Commander, whom they

reſpected, whom they adored, whom they all looked upon as their father. The bare dread of giving him pain was enough to hold them to their duty, and would have counteracted all the means uſed to ſeduce them. His ſucceſſor was leſs bent on preſerving thoſe invaluable affections, than on introducing into the regiment innovations, which perhaps would have been uſeful in more tranquil times, but were at leaſt imprudent at a moment when all ideas on Reform were already become Revolutionary ideas.

It was in theſe circumſtances, the moſt critical in which France had ever ſtood, that Louis XVI, adhering to the engagement he had ſolemnly entered into of aſſembling the States-General, reſolved upon convoking them. His Majeſty might have followed the example of his predeceſſors, and regulated in the Council, by his own authority, every thing relative to the Conſtitution of that Aſſembly, and to the mode of calling it together. No one would have thought of diſputing the King's right to adopt, for that purpoſe, what had been practiſed in any of the former Aſſemblies. This would doubtleſs have been the wiſeſt ſtep; but it was

too ſimple to meet with Mr. *Necker's* approbation. Whether with the view of ſignalizing his return to adminiſtration by ſome very brilliant exploit, or of giving the greater ſolemnity to the King's reſolution, he propoſed and prevailed on the Council to adopt the meaſure of convoking the Notables a ſecond time, in order to ſubmit to their conſideration ſeveral queſtions, as delicate as important, reſpecting the conſtitution of the States-General. This ſecond meeting was compoſed of the ſame members as the former, and was alſo held at Verſailles in the month of November 1788. A moſt violent ferment very ſoon appeared in every part of the kingdom, and chiefly at Paris. The great queſtions propoſed to the Notables were points diſcuſſed by the multitude, in coffee-houſes, taverns, and all public places; and thoſe tumultuous debates of ignorance and delirium were already diſpoſing to Anti-monarchical notions a majority of the moſt formidable nature under a weak Government—that of the Populace. The Clubs at the *Palais-Royal* became daily more turbulent; the moſt inflammatory writings were diſperſed with an alarming facility and profuſion; yet neither the Police

lice nor the Miniſter appeared to take the leaſt notice of them. The ſpirit of revolt was ſpreading moſt rapidly in all the provinces, and the plot againſt the Clergy and the Nobility was almoſt general. Such were the evident effects of that ſtriking REPORT, upon which Mr. *Necker*, againſt the almoſt unanimous opinion of the Aſſembly of Notables, prevailed upon the Council to adopt the reſolution of granting to the *Third Order* a double number of Repreſentatives in the States-General.

At this critical moment the Princes delivered the following remarkable Memorial to the King, which the diſaffected had the aſſurance to entitle the Manifeſto of a War pretended to have been planned againſt the Third Order, but which poſterity will ſee was a prophetic ſketch of the Revolution.

The Memorial preſented to the King by the Count *d'Artois*, the Prince *de Condé*, the Duke *de Bourbon*, the Duke *d'Enghien*, and the Prince *de Conti*.

" SIRE,

" WHEN your Majeſty forbade the Notables to take under their conſideration the

Memorial delivered to them by his Highneſs the Prince *de Conti*, your Majeſty declared to the Princes of your blood, that, whenever they had any thing to propoſe tending to the good of your ſervice and of the State, they might addreſs themſelves to you.

" The Count *d'Artois*, the Prince *de Condé*, the Duke *de Bourbon*, the Duke *d'Enghien*, and the Prince *de Conti*, think it their duty to take the advantage of that declaration of your Majeſty.

" In fact, to the Princes of your blood, who hold the higheſt rank of your ſubjects, who are born your counſellors, who by their rights are intereſted to defend yours, to them does it particularly belong to lay truth before you, and they think themſelves alſo bound to ſubmit their ſentiments and opinions to your Majeſty.

" Sire, the State is in danger. Your perſon is reſpected; the virtues of the Monarch enſure him the homage of the Nation; but, Sire, a Revolution is taking place in the principles of the Government, brought on by a ferment in the minds of the People. Inſtitutions held ſacred, and by which this Monarchy has proſpered for ſo many

many ages, are made ſubjects of debate, and even decried as replete with injuſtice.

" The writings which have appeared ſince the Aſſembly of Notables has been ſitting; the Memorials which have been delivered to the underſigned Princes; the Petitions drawn up by ſeveral provinces, towns, or ſocieties; the object and ſtyle of thoſe Petitions and Memorials, all proclaim and prove a digeſted ſyſtem of diſorder, and contempt for the laws of the State. Every author ſets himſelf up for a legiſlator; eloquence, and the art of writing, even though deſtitute of ſtudy, knowledge, or experience, ſeem to beſtow a ſufficient title to regulate the Conſtitutions of Empires. Whoever advances a bold propoſition, whoever propoſes a change of the laws, is ſure to find readers and partiſans.

" Such is the unhappy progreſs of this effervescence, that opinions, which ſome time ago would have appeared extremely reprehenſible, now appear juſt and reaſonable; and what good men are now hurt at, will in a ſhort time, perhaps, paſs as regular and legal. Who can ſay where the raſhneſs of opinion will ſtop? The rights of

the Throne have been diſputed; opinions are divided on the rights of the two Orders of the State; very ſoon the rights of property will be attacked, and inequality of fortune be pointed out as an object of reform. A ſuppreſſion of the Feudal Rights has been already propoſed, as they are ſaid to be a ſyſtem of oppreſſion, and a remnant of barbariſm.

" From theſe new ſyſtems, and the plan of effecting a change in rights and the laws, has ariſen the deſign, announced by ſome Societies of the *Tiers Etat*, of obtaining for that Order a double number of votes in the States-General, while each of the two other Orders are to have only a ſingle proportion. The underſigned Princes will not repeat what has been declared by ſeveral Committees; the injuſtice and the danger of innovation, either in the conſtitution of the States-General or in the mode of convoking them; the multitude of claims that would ſtart up in conſequence; the facility, if the votes be taken individually and not by Orders, of endangering, by ſeducing ſome members of the *Tiers Etat*, the intereſts of that Order, better protected by the preſent Conſtitution; the deſtruction of the

the balance ſo wiſely eſtabliſhed among the Three Orders, and of their reſpective independence.

" It has been ſignified to your Majeſty, how important it is to adhere to the only form of convoking the States-General which is conſtitutional, that preſcribed by law and cuſtom; to the diſtinction of the Orders, to the rights of ſeparate deliberation, and to the equality of votes—thoſe unalterable foundations of the French Monarchy.

" It has not been concealed from your Majeſty, that to change the form of the letters of convocation for the *Tiers Etat* only, and to call to the States-General double the number of the deputies of that Order, even though two voices went but for one vote, as heretofore, would be an indirect mode of allowing the claim of the *Tiers Etat*, which, taught by its firſt ſucceſs, would not be diſpoſed to remain contented with a conceſſion having no object, and being of no uſe ſo long as the increaſed number of deputies made no alteration in the number of votes.

" Your Majeſty may alſo have been convinced, that the union of two deputies forming one vote, may, by their having differ-

ent opinions, occaſion their votes to be drawn; and if a drawn vote be conſidered as nothing, according to the uſual cuſtom, it opens a new door of reſiſtance againſt the Government.

"Theſe principles have been unfolded, and ſeem to have been demonſtrated in the fulleſt manner.

"It only remains for the underſigned Princes to expreſs their attachment to the State and to your Majeſty. They cannot refrain from declaring, that they ſhould be exceedingly alarmed for the State, were the pretended claims of the Third Order ratified, and for the melancholy conſequences that would attend the propoſed alteration in the Conſtitution of the States. In ſuch an alteration they have a gloomy proſpect; they ſee every King, according to his views, or his partialities, changing the rights of the Nation; a ſuperſtitious King beſtowing the preponderance of ſuffrages upon the Clergy; a warlike King laviſhing them upon the Nobility, his followers in war; and then would the *Tiers Etat*, which at this moment would be the gainer of the ſuperiority, have cauſe, from thoſe fluctuations, to repent their ſucceſs; each Order, in its turn,

turn, oppreſſing or oppreſſed, the Conſtitution corrupted or unſteady, the Nation ever divided, and thenceforth ever feeble and wretched.

" But there are ſtill more impending misfortunes. In a kingdom where for ſo long a time civil diſſenſions have been unknown, it is painful to pronounce diſunion; it is an event, however, we muſt expect, if the rights of the two higher Orders undergo any violation; for one or perhaps both of thoſe Orders may diſavow the States-General, and refuſe to confirm their own degradation by appearing at the Aſſembly.

" Who can doubt at leaſt but that a great number of gentlemen would attack the legality of the States-General, proteſt againſt them, cauſe their Proteſts to be regiſtered by the Parliaments, and even declare them to the States themſelves?—From that moment, whatever were decreed in that Aſſembly would, in the eyes of a part of the Nation, no longer have the force of National conſent; and in the minds of people what weight would not Proteſts have, which tended to exonerate them from paying the taxes granted in the States! Thus, that

that Assembly, so much wished for, and so necessary, would only prove a source of troubles and disorder.

" But even were your Majesty sure of experiencing no obstacle to the execution of your will, can you, noble, just, and full of sensibility as you are, resolve to sacrifice, to injure that brave, ancient, and respectable Nobility, who have shed so much blood for their country and for their Kings; who placed *Hugh Capet* upon the Throne; who tore the sceptre out of the hands of the English, to restore it to *Charles VII*, and by whom the Crown was firmly settled upon the head of the reigning branch?

" In speaking of the Nobility, the Princes of your blood speak for themselves; they cannot forget that they make a part of the body of the Nobility, that they ought not to be distinguished from it, and that their highest title is that of Gentlemen. This was said by *Henry IV*, and they have pleasure in repeating the expressions of his noble sentiments.

" Let the *Tiers Etat* then cease from attacking the rights of the two other Orders;—rights which, being as old as the Monarchy, ought to be as unalterable as the

the Conſtitution of it; and let it confine itſelf to ſoliciting a decreaſe of the taxes with which it may be ſurcharged: then might the two higher Orders, finding in the Third countrymen who are dear to them, generouſly renounce pecuniary privileges, and conſent to ſupport the public burdens, with the moſt perfect equality.

"The underſigned Princes requeſt to ſet the example of every ſacrifice that may contribute to the good of the State, and to cement the union of the Orders that compoſe it.

"Let the *Tiers Etat* reflect what, in the end, might be the conſequence of invading the rights of the Clergy and Nobility, and the reſult of the confuſion of the Orders.

"According to the general laws by which all Political Conſtitutions are directed, the French Monarchy muſt degenerate into Deſpotiſm, or become a Democracy; two different kinds of Revolution, but both deplorable.

"Againſt Deſpotiſm the Nation has two barriers—your Majeſty's intereſts, and your principles: and your Majeſty may be aſſured, that real Frenchmen will never admit the idea

idea of a Government inconſiſtent with the extent of the State, the number of its inhabitants, the national character, and the innate ſentiments which at all times have attached them and their fathers to a Sovereign as to a benefactor.

"The underſigned Princes will purſue theſe reflections no farther. It is with regret they have ſpoken of the misfortunes which threaten the State, and they will turn with more ſatisfaction to its reſources.

"Your Majeſty, exalted by your virtues above the ordinary views of Sovereigns, who are for the moſt part jealous, and ambitious of power, has made conceſſions to your ſubjects, which they did not require. You have called upon them to exerciſe a right, the uſe of which they had long loſt, and almoſt forgotten. This noble act of juſtice lays the Nation under great obligations; and they ought not to refuſe to confide in a King who has confided in them. The burdens of the State, ſanctioned by public conſent, ought to be borne with leſs reluctance; and the Royal authority, more regular, and conſequently more venerable and paternal, ſhould find zealous defenders in the

the Magiſtrates, who in times of difficulty have always been the props of the Throne, and who know that, in the eyes of good citizens, the rights of their King and Country are inſeparable.

" That generous ſentiment which has ever diſtinguiſhed the French—*the love for the perſon of their King;* that ſentiment, which in a Monarchy is one of the ſprings of the Government, and is blended with patriotiſm; that paſſion, that enthuſiaſm, which has produced amongſt us ſo many great and heroic actions, ſo many ſtruggles and ſacrifices, which the laws could not dictate, will ſtill appear with energy.

" The underſigned Princes take pleaſure in ſpeaking the language of ſenſibility to your Majeſty; they are of opinion, that they ſhould never ſpeak any other to their Sovereign.

" In you, Sire, all your ſubjects behold a father, but it more particularly belongs to the Princes of your blood to call you by that name: you have ſhown the feelings of one to each of them, and gratitude makes them ſo earneſt with your Majeſty.

" Deign, Sire, to liſten to the prayer of your children, dictated by the moſt tender and

and reſpectful concern, by the deſire of public tranquillity, and of ſupporting the power of a King, the more worthy of being loved and obeyed, as his whole ſolicitude is for the happineſs of his ſubjects.

" (Signed) *Charles-Philip, Louis-Joſeph de Bourbon, Louis-Henry-Joſeph de Bourbon, Louis-Anthony-Henry de Bourbon, Louis-Francis-Joſeph de Bourbon.*"

At that time the Duke of *Orleans*, engroſſed in courting popularity, refuſed his concurrence and ſignature to this Memorial. He aſſumed the greateſt devotion for the cauſe of the *Tiers Etat*, and the tendereſt ſolicitude for the relief of the People. From the moſt ſordid covetouſneſs he was ſeen ſuddenly paſſing to the moſt oſtentatious prodigality. He ordered bread to be diſtributed to the poor, in almoſt every pariſh of the capital; cauſed fires to be made on very cold days in all the ſquares and principal ſtreets; and hired two coach-houſes near the *Palais-Bourbon*, which he turned into kitchens, where his own cooks attended to roaſt large joints of meat, which they di-

vided among the neceſſitous, with a proportionate quantity of bread. Theſe acts of liberality, publiſhed in all the papers with exaggeration and in a ſtriking manner, gained him the favour of the People to a degree that greatly diſquieted the Court, againſt which, ſince his laſt baniſhment, he retained an animoſity he no longer concealed. Nor were they leſs alarmed for the effect which was naturally to be apprehended from the public inſtructions addreſſed by that Prince to all his bailiwicks, and which he cauſed to be diſperſed by thouſands throughout the whole kingdom. Theſe inſtructions, which were drawn up by the Abbé *Sieyes*, contained, among other remarkable regulations, a deſire that the Bailiwick Aſſemblies would direct their deputies to the States-General to petition for a periodical return of the National Aſſemblies, for an equal contribution to the taxes, and for the introduction of a law of divorce into France. It was not without the greateſt rapture that the people heard thoſe inſtructions read, although the moſt of them were far above their comprehenſion.

The Parliament of Paris hoped to calm the general effervescence, and to recall the minds

minds of men to more reaſonable ideas, by determining previouſly, in a ſolemn reſolution, the principal reforms and improvements with which they judged the Nation ſhould be ſatisfied. In that Reſolution, entitled *A Reſolution upon the preſent State of the Nation*, it was ſaid, that as the approaching Aſſembly of the States-General might be conſidered as an Aſſembly ſtrictly National, it was neceſſary, in convening it, that the King ſhould be pleaſed to declare—

1. The periodical return of the States-General.
2. Their right to mortgage certain taxes to the creditors of the State.
3. Their duty to the Nation of granting no ſubſidy but what was definite, both as to the amount, and the time for which it was granted.
4. Their right of freely ſettling and appointing the funds of each department, for the revenue of the State.
5. His Majeſty's reſolution of concerting with the States-General for the ſuppreſſion of all partial taxation of the Orders, and for the

the ſubſtitution of common ſubſidies to be equally levied.

6. The reſponſibility of Miniſters.
7. The right of the States-General to impeach and proſecute, in all caſes in which the Nation at large ſhould be concerned.
8. The power of the States-General over the Supreme Courts, ſo that the Courts neither ought to ſuffer nor can ſuffer any ſubſidy to be levied which was not granted, nor concur in the execution of any law which was not propoſed or agreed to, by the States-General.
9. The perſonal liberty of the ſubject, by the obligation of immediately delivering every man who ſhall be arreſted, into the hands of his natural judges.
10. The Liberty of the Preſs.

The exemptions from taxation being the conſtant object of the declamations of the popular writers, and the moſt apparent motive of the animoſity of the *Tiers Etat* againſt the privileged Orders, the Peers on

this occaſion addreſſed a letter to the King, in which they ſupplicated him to accept their wiſhes of bearing a juſt proportion of the taxes according to their revenues. The ſame wiſhes were expreſſed in the Inſtructions (*cayers*) of the Nobility of almoſt all the bailiwicks in the kingdom. This letter, which is at once an undeniable proof of the generoſity of the French Nobility, and of the injuſtice of the perſecutions they have ſuffered, was ſigned by all the Peers, and was conceived in the following terms:

"SIRE,

"The Peers of your realm are eager "to give your Majeſty and the Nation "proofs of their zeal for the proſperity of "the State, and of their deſire to cement "union among all the Orders, by ſuppli- "cating your Majeſty to receive the ſolemn "wiſhes they lay at the feet of the Throne, "of bearing a juſt proportion of the taxes "and public burdens, according to their "fortunes, without any pecuniary privi- "lege whatſoever. They have no doubt "but that theſe ſentiments would be una- "nimouſly expreſſed by all the gentlemen

"of

" of your kingdom, were they assembled to " depositt them respectfully in the bosom of " your Majesty."

The *Tiers Etat* ought to have been satisfied with, and grateful for, these important sacrifices; but they were sometimes represented as acts of hypocrisy, which ought not to be relied upon; sometimes as indications of fear, which should encourage that Order to rise in their demands. By such perfidious insinuations, the Factions kept alive the distrust and agitation of the People, and disposed them to revolt. The most inflammatory pamphlets against the Clergy and the Nobility were circulated through the whole kingdom, without the least opposition; and the most shameful caricatures, exposed to view in the squares, on the quays, and at the print-shops in Paris, excited the crowds they collected, to insult not only the Ecclesiastics, but every well-dressed man who happened to be passing. It was by such gross excesses that the vilest rabble, considering themselves as a part of the *Tiers Etat*, signalized the victory gained for that Order by Mr. *Necker's* Report.

The letters for convoking the States-Ge-

neral were iſſued at this criſis, [*Jan.* 1789.] The affectionate and truly paternal ſentiments expreſſed in theſe by the King ought to have allayed all diſcontent, and diſſipated all uneaſineſs; and no doubt they did produce that effect among the reaſonable, honeſt, and well-affected perſons of the three Orders; but the turbulent and ambitious, the intriguing, and the Revolutionary fanatics, did not relax the leaſt on that account in the project for overturning every thing, but continued preparing the means for carrying it into execution. Of theſe, inſurrections being the moſt vigorous, they were found breaking out, at the ſame time, in ſeveral provinces, under the moſt chimerical pretences, and almoſt all directed againſt the Nobles, who were marked out already for the hatred of the people, by the fatal appellation of *Ariſtocrats*, and accuſed of engroſſing the corn, in a printed denunciation, which was publicly diſtributed on the *Pont-neuf*, and at the gates of the public walks of the capital; at the ſame time placards were ſtuck up in the Fauxbourgs, which threatened a general inſurrection if the price of bread was not lowered.

Such was the ſad temper of the times at the

the eve of the meeting of the States-General, which was fixed for the 27th of April. It was, however, poſtponed till the 4th of May, as the building in which they were to aſſemble could not be ſooner got ready. In the week preceding that too memorable day, a moſt violent inſurrection broke out in Paris, and which was the more remarkable, as neither the motives for it nor the real inſtigators have ever been properly known. It is more than probable it had no other object than that of training the populace to theſe kinds of outrageous enterpriſes, and of encouraging them to reſiſt the military. However that be, on the 27th of April, at three o'clock in the afternoon, ſeveral bands of ruffians, armed with bludgeons, appeared in the ſtreets, dragging a figure, on which was a label, with the name of *Reveillon;* the proprietor of an extenſive paper-hanging manufactory, in the *Fauxbourg St. Antoine.* The alarm ſpread by their uproar and threats, occaſioned the ſhops to be ſhut in all the ſtreets through which they paſſed. They made their firſt halt at the *Palais-Royal,* where they proclaimed a feigned decree of the *Tiers Etat,* condemning *Reveillon* to be hanged in ef-

figy. After dragging the figure about for a long time, they took it to the *Place de Greve*, where they hanged it, and then diſperſing to different public-houſes ſpent the night in riot and uproar.

Thoſe who were aſked what were their motives for animoſity againſt *Reveillon*, gave inſignificant anſwers. They accuſed him vaguely of having ſaid that "the "workmen's wages ſhould be fixed at *fifteen* "*ſols* ($7\frac{1}{2}d.$) a day," and "that bread was "not too dear at *three ſols and a half* ($1\frac{3}{4}d.$) a pound." This was the more abſurd, as in no other manufactory of the ſame kind in Paris were the workmen's wages higher than at *Reveillon's*.

The inſurrection of the 27th was nothing in compariſon with that which took place the following day. The officers of revenue at the barriers had obſerved, in the courſe of the night, an immenſe multitude of ill-dreſſed and ill-looking fellows paſs into Paris. By break of day large crowds were ſeen going through the ſtreets; they went into the ſhops and manufactories, where they diſtributed money, and carried all the workmen away by force. When they thought themſelves ſtrong enough, they ran howling

howling frightfully, to the *Fauxbourg St. Antoine*, to attack *Reveillon's* houſe, which they found defended by a detachment of the Paris Guard, who kept them off for five hours. A conſiderable body of the inſurgents at the ſame time attacked the houſe of another perſon, named *Henriot*, who was at the head of a manufactory of ſaltpetre, and was *Reveillon's* friend and neighbour. He had ſcarcely time to eſcape with his family: his houſe not being guarded was forced in an inſtant; the furniture thrown out of the windows, heaped together in the court, and ſet on fire. *Reveillon's* houſe was ſharing the ſame fate, when all the reſt of the Paris Guards, the Watch, foot and horſe, the Royal regiment of Croats, the French Guards, and the Swiſs, arrived at the *Fauxbourg St. Antoine*. This little army, attended with ſome pieces of cannon, marched in order, drums beating and matches lighted. When they drew near the ruffians, the latter were informed, by deſire of the Commanding Officer, that he had orders to repel force by force, and that he enjoined them to diſperſe. After repeating this injunction thrice, with-

out effect, the word of command was given to make ready, and the ſoldiers ſeemed as if going to fire upon them; but, far from being intimidated by this threat, they poured a ſhower of tiles and ſlates upon the troops, by which ſeveral ſoldiers, and an officer of the Royal regiment of Croats, were wounded. Orders were then given to the French Guards to enter the houſe, and to give no quarter to thoſe who would not leave it. The regiment having got into the court drew up in order of battle, and at firſt tried, by firing ſome ſhots in the air, to frighten the multitude of people that ſtood at the windows, on the roof, and the walls of the houſe; but they were only anſwered by a freſh ſhower of tiles and ſlates, accompanied with ſtones, beams, and furniture, by which ſome of the ſoldiers were cruſhed to death, and others ſeverely wounded. The French Guards, ſeeing that all mildneſs was uſeleſs, now made a rolling fire in four directions.

After this firſt diſcharge, which did great execution, the ſoldiers entered the houſe, and in all the apartments met with incredible reſiſtance. In order to get the ruffians out,

out, they were obliged to charge with bayonets, and wounded a very great number of them.

The cellars of the houſe preſented a moſt horrid ſight. The ground was ſtrewed with thoſe wretches; ſome dead drunk with the wine and liquors with which they had gorged themſelves; others expiring in dreadful convulſions brought on by the dyer's poiſonous preparations, which, deceived in their eagerneſs by the bottles in which they were kept, they had taken for foreign wines.

At length night coming on put an end to the carnage and the inſurrection. In the different regiments, there were in all twelve killed, and about 80 wounded. The loſs of the inſurgents was much more conſiderable; 200 remained dead upon the ſpot, and about 300 were wounded. Some of them were carried off on litters by their comrades, who called to the paſſengers—"Ci-"tizens! this is one of the Defenders of "our Country, give a trifle towards bury-"ing him." Several of theſe wretches, who were taken to hoſpitals or priſons, confeſſed, in their dying moments, that they had

had received twelve livres for that day's work. It was never known, and but very feeble attempts were made to discover, who had provided the funds for an expence so considerable and so criminal. It was only observed, that in the morning of that very day, the Duke of *Orleans*, in his way to a horse-race at *Vincennes*, got out of his carriage in the *Fauxbourg St. Antoine*, went up to the gang of ruffians, spoke to them in the most affable manner, exhorted them to be peaceable, to go home, and to drop all resentment against *Reveillon*. He was heard among other things to say to them: "Come, "come, my lads, be quiet, we are going "to be happy." The ruffians applauded him, but did not follow his advice.

In the afternoon, a few minutes before the engagement began, the Duchess of *Orleans*, returning from *Vincennes*, was impeded by the crowd in the *Fauxbourg St. Antoine*. The Royal Regiment of Croats, which had received orders to prevent all carriages from passing that way, attempted to make that of the Duchess return; but the rebels, having got sight of her, opened a passage with their bludgeons through the soldiers,

diers, and, making their way to her, escorted, and almost carried, her coach through to the part of the street where it was free.

From these circumstances it has been conjectured that the Duke of *Orleans* was no stranger to this insurrection; but they are certainly not sufficient to prove that he excited or paid for it, and still less to raise the slightest suspicion against the constant and unalterable purity of the sentiments, and of the virtues, of the too unfortunate Duchess of *Orleans*.

Some days after, a gang of five or six hundred vagabonds appeared in the neighbourhood of *Villejuif*. They spread themselves about the country; twice, at different times, threatened to force the gates of *Bicetre*, and disappeared on the approach of the military, over-running the adjacent country, and carrying every where the dread of havock.

At the same period similar gangs assembled in several provinces. The enemies of the Court accused them of fomenting those troubles, in order to have a pretence for putting the troops in motion, and bringing an over-awing force towards Paris. This imputation was the more absurd, as at that time

time the Miniſtry had no occaſion for a pretence to move and remove regiments when and how they thought proper. Is it not, on the contrary, far more probable, that the inſurrections which broke out at the ſame juncture in moſt of the provinces of the kingdom, and the factitious want which was every where made the plea for them, were manœuvres of the Revolutionary Faction, whoſe well-known plan was to arm the people; the ſureſt means of effecting which, was doubtleſs to alarm the citizens of every claſs, for their perſonal ſafety? Is it not to the ſame Faction that we ſhould aſcribe thoſe circular letters, ſigned *Necker*, which were addreſſed in the courſe of April 1789 to the corn-factors, farmers, millers, bakers, and graziers, enjoining them to diſcontinue making proviſion for Paris from the 20th of April to the 15th of May?—When the ſubject was mentioned to the Miniſter, he confeſſed that ſeveral of thoſe letters had been returned to him, and he declared the ſignature to be forged. The ſuſpicion fell upon a villain, who ſome days before had preſented an order at the *Caiſſe d'Eſcompte*, for fifty thouſand crowns, with the ſignature of Mr. *Necker* and

and that of his Secretary exactly imitated, for which he had received the money. The Minister, in whose name all these forgeries were committed, was certainly quite ignorant of them: but how comes it that they gave him no uneasiness? and, if they did give him any, what can he say to justify his not having used all the means of the Police and of the Courts to discover the authors of those villanies?

CHAPTER

CHAPTER II.

Proceſſion and Opening of the States-General—The King's Speech—Difficulty on the Queſtion, whether the Powers of the Deputies ſhould be verified by Orders, or individually—Delay of the Paris Elections—Seditious Reſolutions of the Electors—Conciliatory Conferences relative to verifying the Powers—Addreſs propoſed by Mr. Malouet—Anecdote of Target—Abbé Sieyes—Mirabeau.

THE opening of the States-General was preceded by all the religious ceremonies preſcribed by cuſtom. On Monday, the 4th of May, the Deputies of the Three Orders being aſſembled at the church of *Notre-Dame* in *Verſailles*, the King and Queen went thither, at ten o'clock in the morning, attended

attended by the whole Court. As ſoon as their Majeſties arrived, the *Veni Creator* was ſung; after which the deputies, paſſing in a line before the King and Queen, went out in proceſſion to repair to the church of *St. Louis*. The *Tiers Etat* walked firſt, the Order of the Nobility followed, and then that of the Clergy. The Hoſt was carried by the Archbiſhop of *Paris: Monſieur*, the Count *d'Artois*, and the Dukes *d'Angouléme* and *Berry*, held the lines of the canopy. The King, Queen, and the whole Court walked immediately after them. The ſtreets, balconies, and windows, were filled with an immenſe crowd of ſpectators, who were ſeen on the very tops of the houſes. Joy was painted on every countenance, and broke out in tranſports of applauſe. Theſe applauſes, however, were chiefly addreſſed to the *Tiers Etat;* for there was a marked ſuſpenſion of them when the Orders of the Nobility and Clergy paſſed, and they were renewed with rapture as ſoon as the King appeared, thouſands of hats being waved in the air, and every voice uniting in the cry of VIVE LE ROI! The good Monarch melted into tears at ſo many demonſtrations of love, and returned them

in the moſt affectionate manner by motions of his head. The Maſs of the Holy Ghoſt, celebrated with the greateſt magnificence, and the Sermon, or rather opening Speech, delivered by *M. de la Fare*, Biſhop of *Nanci*, prolonged the ceremony till four o'clock in the afternoon. Cries of *Vive le Roi! Vive la Reine!* were a thouſand times reiterated by an immenſe crowd, and followed their Majeſties to their very apartments in the Palace.

Who now would have ſaid, that in about two months after, the Monarch, ſo worthy of all this homage, of all theſe bleſſings, would be ſeen reduced to go and throw himſelf into the hands of the people of Paris while in a ſtate of inſurrection?—would be ſeen proceeding to the *Hotel-de-Ville*, through a hundred thouſand pikes croſſed over his head, and giving a ſanction to ſuch enormities, by receiving from the hands of rebels, and fixing in his hat, the cockade of rebellion?

On the 5th of May, the day appointed for the opening of the States-General, the deputies repaired to the Hall appropriated for the Sittings of the Three Orders when united, and for the particular Sittings of the *Tiers*

Tiers Etat. They were called over in the order of their Bailiwicks, and arranged by the Marquis de *Brezé*, the Maſter of the ceremonies. The Clergy were on the right ſide of the Throne, the Nobility on the left, and the *Tiers Etat* in front. All the arrangements that were to precede the King's arrival being made, he entered, accompanied by the Queen and his whole Court. His Majeſty ſeated himſelf on the Throne, and the Queen, at his left hand, took poſſeſſion of an arm-chair which was placed a ſtep lower. The Princes, Peers, and great Officers of the Crown, ranged themſelves to the right and left of their Majeſties on the platform which ſupported the Throne.

The King then riſing took off his hat, and with confidence and dignity delivered a Speech replete with wiſdom, and with affection for his people, of whom he declared himſelf the *firſt friend.* This Speech is too valuable a monument for hiſtory not to be recorded at length. It is as follows:

"GENTLEMEN,

"This day, which I have ſo long and eagerly expected, is at length arrived, and I

ſee myſelf ſurrounded with the Repreſentatives of the Nation which it is my glory to govern.

" A long interval has elapſed ſince the laſt Seſſions of the States-General; and although the convocation of theſe Aſſemblies ſeemed to have fallen into diſuſe, I have not heſitated to reſtore a cuſtom from which the Kingdom may draw new ſtrength, and which may provide the Nation with a freſh ſource of happineſs.

" The debt of the State, which was immenſe at my acceſſion to the Throne, has been further augmented under my reign; an expenſive but honourable war has been the cauſe of it, and the neceſſary conſequence an increaſe of taxes, which has rendered the unequal burden of them more ſenſibly felt.

" A general anxiety and monſtrous ſpirit of innovation pervade the minds of men, which would terminate in a total diſtraction of opinions, if haſte were not made to ſettle them by a union of wiſe and temperate counſels.

" It is with this confidence, Gentlemen, I have aſſembled you, and with the greateſt ſatisfaction I find it already juſtified, by the diſpoſitions

diſpoſitions which the two firſt Orders have ſhown to renounce their pecuniary privileges. The hope I have formed of ſeeing all the Orders of one mind, uniting with me for the general good of the State, will not be diſappointed.

" I have already given orders for conſiderable retrenchments in the expences of the State. From you I expect, and ſhall receive with eagerneſs, further ideas upon this ſubject; but, in ſpite of the reſource that may ariſe from the ſtricteſt economy, I fear, Gentlemen, it will not be in my power to relieve my ſubjects ſo ſpeedily as I could wiſh. I will direct an exact ſtate of the Finances to be laid before you; and when you have examined it, I look forward with certainty to your propoſing to me the moſt effectual means of putting them into permanent order, and of eſtabliſhing public credit. This great and ſalutary work, which will enſure the kingdom happineſs at home and reſpect abroad, will eſſentially engage your attention.

" The minds of men are agitated: but an Aſſembly of the Repreſentatives of the Nation will no doubt liſten only to the dic-

tates of wiſdom and of prudence. That theſe have not been attended to, upon ſeveral recent occaſions, you, yourſelves Gentlemen, muſt have ſeen; but the ſpirit prevailing over your deliberations will correſpond with the real ſentiments of a generous Nation, whoſe diſtinguiſhing character has always been a love for their Kings. I will baniſh every other recollection from my mind.

" I know the authority and power of a juſt King, amidſt a faithful People attached at all times to the principles of the Monarchy, which have been the glory and the luſtre of France; of which I ought to be, and invariably will be, the ſupport.

" But, whatever can be expected from the moſt anxious ſolicitude for the public happineſs, whatever can be aſked from a Sovereign the firſt friend of his People, you may and ought to hope from my feelings.

" Gentlemen, may a bleſſed harmony reign throughout this Aſſembly! and may this epoch become for ever memorable by the happineſs and proſperity of the kingdom! It is the wiſh of my heart—it is the

moſt ardent of my prayers; it is, in fine, the reward I hope for the rectitude of my intentions and of my love for my People.

" My Keeper of the Seals will explain my intentions more amply; and with reſpect to the Finances, I have given orders to the Director-General of the Finances to unfold the ſituation of them to you."

The King, before he began to ſpeak, had requeſted the Queen to be ſeated; but ſhe preferred to hear him ſtanding like the reſt of the Aſſembly. The grace and dignity of her carriage, the modeſty of her dreſs, and the tears that more than once ſtarted from her eyes, added a ſoft emotion to the ſtrong impreſſion made by his Majeſty.

At the concluſion of the Speech, which was followed by long and loud applauſe, the King reſumed his ſeat upon the Throne, and put on his hat. The Deputies of the Order of the Nobility having directly after alſo put on theirs, conformably to the practice of former Aſſemblies of the States-General, a number of the *Tiers Etat* thought they might follow the example. Inſtantly in every part of the Hall were heard the cries

of "On hats!" "Off hats!" The King, unwilling that the majeſty of ſo auguſt a Sitting ſhould be diſturbed by ſuch a ridiculous diſpute, had the prudence and addreſs to put an immediate end to the noiſe, by taking off his own hat as if the heat were oppreſſive. As no one could remain covered when the King was not ſo, this incident was attended with no conſequence, and calm was reſtored in the Aſſembly. The diſcourſe of the Keeper of the Seals and that of Mr. *Necker*, which laſted three hours, occupied the reſt of this Sitting.

On the next day (May 6,) the Order of the Clergy and that of the Nobility aſſembled in the Halls reſpectively appropriated for each of them, while the *Tiers Etat* met at the Common Hall; whence they ſent meſſages to the two other Orders, requeſting they would join them for the purpoſe of verifying their powers. This ceremony, neceſſary for eſtabliſhing the validity of the elections, had never given occaſion for the ſlighteſt difficulty in any former Aſſembly of the States-General, in whatever manner it had been performed, for not any of the three Orders had ever been intereſted in the verification being made either ſeparately or in

in common. But at a moment when the queſtion of voting individually or by Orders, left undecided by the Government, agitated every mind; when the greateſt intereſt and moſt ardent wiſh of the *Tiers Etat* were to eſtabliſh the mode of voting individually, it was evident that they would obſtinately reſiſt whatever might be conſidered as an acquieſcence in the mode of deliberation by Orders; in ſupport of which, on the other hand, it was natural that the Clergy and Nobility ſhould ſtrain every nerve.

If Mr. *Necker*, who from the month of December preceding had thrown out this apple of diſcord by his Report to the Council, had foreſeen the effects of it, he would doubtleſs have endeavoured to prevent the ſcandalous diſſenſions and animoſity which the verification of the powers created among the Orders, and the conſequences of which have proved ſo fatal. Good ſenſe ſhould have indicated the only alternative left. To the King, who had empowered the Nation to ſend a certain number of Deputies to him for the purpoſe of compoſing the Aſſembly of the States-General, unqueſtionably belonged the right of regulating the form to be uſed in verifying the powers and ap-

pointment of such as presented themselves to him as Deputies, who till their qualifications were legally proved could only be considered by his Majesty as simple individuals. Now, it is evident that this indispensable ceremony could only be performed by Committees of the Council, because it was in the Council that the conditions and forms which were to be observed at the elections had been discussed and decreed, and consequently to them it belonged to determine whether those had been eluded or complied with; a determination to which none of the Deputies were competent, because there was not one who, before the verification of his own powers, was qualified to verify those of others. The verification ought to have been transacted previously to the opening of the States-General, in order that none might have been admitted to that Assembly but Deputies whose titles, which were in fact their credentials, should have been judged valid. To have accelerated the business, it might have been referred to one or more Committees of the Council appointed for that purpose; and to these might have been added gradually an equal number of the deputies of the three Orders,

Orders, as their powers were verified. It is true that, to have adopted this form before the opening of the States-General, it would have been neceſſary to have declared it in the letters of convocation: but had the King, even on the day of opening, obſerved in his Speech, that the verification of powers was a neceſſary preliminary to all deliberation in the States-General; and had he directed that the Deputies ſhould deliver their titles to the Keeper of the Seals, in order to be verified by Committees of the Council, no one would have queſtioned the regularity or the wiſdom of ſuch an order, and it would have been executed without oppoſition. But Mr. *Necker*, leſs attentive to preſerve the lawful authority of the King than not to encroach upon the powers which his ignorance ſuppoſed inherent in the States-General, or with which it was a part of his plan to inveſt them, did not dare, or did not chooſe, to adopt either of thoſe meaſures.

The diſcuſſions and debates carried on by the electors of Paris, in drawing up their inſtructions, conſumed ſo much time, that the States-General opened without the Repreſentatives of the capital. Not one of the

the Orders had yet nominated its Deputies. The elections of the Order of the Clergy were not concluded before the evening of the 5th of May; those of the Order of the Nobility not till the 10th, and those of the *Tiers Etat* not till the 31st. But what was more remarkable was, that the electors of this last Order, whose commission, like that of all the electors throughout the kingdom, was limited to drawing up instructions and appointing Deputies, arrogated, upon their own authority, the most extraordinary power, without either the Government or States-General making the least opposition to it. Thus, giving the signal, and setting an example of anarchy to all France, the Representatives of the capital prepared the way for the Revolution in which it was to take the chief part. The first trial of their power made by the electors of Paris, was directed against a decree of the Council for suppressing an inflammatory Journal published by Count *Mirabeau*. The insolent and ridiculous resolution they entered into upon that occasion is worthy of being recorded, as a monument of the frenzy by which the minds of people were at that time misled.

" *May* 8, 1789. The Assembly of the *Tiers*

Tiers Etat of the city of Paris unanimouſly proteſt againſt the *Act of the Council* of the 7th inſtant, which ſuppreſſes the Journal of the States-General, No. 1, and prohibits the continuation of it under a penalty denounced againſt the printer; nevertheleſs, the Aſſembly do not hereby mean either to approve or cenſure the ſaid Journal.

"They proteſt againſt it, becauſe this Act of the Council is an attack upon Public Liberty at a moment in which it is moſt precious to the Nation; becauſe it is injurious to the Liberty of the Preſs, claimed throughout France; becauſe it infringes upon it at a juncture when the Nation, who have their eyes fixed upon their Repreſentatives, have the greateſt need of knowing all the deliberations of the great Aſſembly in which their rights, and every thing dear to them, are diſcuſſed.

"Becauſe this Act, proceeding from the Council at the very time that the States free and general were aſſembled, decides a queſtion, which was reſerved for them by the King himſelf, in the determination of the Council of the 27th of December laſt.

"Becauſe, finally, this Act revives, at the

the firſt moment of National Liberty, a policy and regulations which had been ſuſpended by the wiſdom and goodneſs of the King; and, in conſequence, the Aſſembly of the *Tiers Etat* have unanimouſly reſolved, that this Proteſt, which ſhall be ſigned by all the members preſent, and preſented for ſignature to ſuch as ſhall come in afterwards, ſhall be carried to the Deputies of the chamber of the Clergy, and to the Deputies of the chamber of the Nobility; and that they ſhall be invited to join with the Deputies of the chamber of the *Tiers Etat*, in order to obtain a repeal of the ſaid Act of the Council, and to procure for the States-General a proviſional Liberty of the Preſs, and particularly that of printing all journals and periodical papers containing the daily acts and deliberations of the ſaid States-General, ſubject nevertheleſs to the puniſhments which may be inflicted upon authors guilty of ſlander."

The Council did not revoke their decree, but were afraid of enforcing it; and Count *Mirabeau*, emboldened by the protection his Journal had received in the name of the *Tiers Etat*, did not ſcruple to continue it under a different title.

The

The electors, proud of the ſucceſs of their firſt reſolution, very ſoon entered into a ſecond of a much more ſerious nature, and of which the conſequences have been very fatal. The only commiſſion with which they were charged being completed, by the compoſition of the inſtructions and the nomination of the Deputies to the States-General, their powers were expired, and their Aſſembly virtually diſſolved; but, inſtead of ſeparating, and returning to the common claſs of citizens, as all the electors of the kingdom had done, they reſolved, in the laſt of their legal meetings, that they ſhould continue to meet and to adjourn from time to time, as long as the States-General were ſitting, for the purpoſe, they ſaid, of giving their Deputies ſuch further inſtructions as the forced haſte of the operations of their Aſſembly had at preſent prevented. Accordingly, the Aſſembly was adjourned to the Wedneſday following, June 7. Mr. *Necker*—for to him alone muſt be imputed all the faults committed by the Miniſtry at this period—Mr. *Necker*, inſtead of calling forth the full cenſure of the Council againſt this reſolution, which ought immediately to have been reſcinded with the ſeveреſt

vereſt reprehenſion, did not ſeem to pay it the ſlighteſt attention. The conſequence was, that, in about ſix weeks after, this permanent Aſſembly of electors were ſeen reigning over Paris with ſovereign power; convening, by virtue of their reſolution, new Aſſemblies of Sections, and organizing with them the moſt violent and general inſurrection. Authority can never ſafely overlook any attempt made againſt it; nor in the depoſitaries of it can the pardon of ſuch attempts be an act of virtue. Diſdaining the ſlighter, or neglecting to puniſh them, is an invitation to commit more; and they very ſoon multiply, and become ſo ſerious, that they annihilate the Government, which loſes the power to repreſs them. The almoſt ſudden diſſolution of the moſt ancient and powerful Monarchy of Europe has but too fully proved theſe melancholy truths.

While the weakneſs of the Council was thus leaving the authority of the King to the firſt occupant, and the example of the Paris electors was teaching the ſeditious with what impudence it might be braved, the Three Orders were ſtill deliberating, in the moſt faſtidious debates, ſolely upon the verification of the powers, and adhering

day after day, with greater obſtinacy, to the claims about which they were divided. The conferences of the conciliatory Commiſſioners, who had been appointed at the inſtance of the Order of the Clergy, were waſted in harangues, or endleſs diſputes, and conciliated nothing. The Orders became mutually exaſperated; and that of the *Tiers Etat* was already ſo firmly reſolved to liſten to no modification whatever upon the queſtion of voting individually, that they would have conſidered in a very ſuſpicious light any member among them who ſhould have given indication of a different opinion.

It was under theſe circumſtances, that a deſire of preventing ſtill more fatal innovations prompted *M. Malouet*, one of the Deputies of the *Tiers Etat*, to prepare an Addreſs to the King, and a ſketch of a Reſolution or Declaration of the Commons, tending to guaranty to the two firſt Orders the enjoyement of their legal property, and of their honorary prerogatives *. He communicated theſe two papers to the Abbé *Sieyes*, and *Target* the advocate, both of whom

* See the Collection of *M. Malouet's* Opinions, page 165, vol. iii.

he

he met at the house of *Desmeunier*, one of their colleagues. *Target* thought it was an inconsiderate engagement to guaranty *all* the property of the Clergy and Nobility; for the additional word *legal* was not a sufficient restriction in the eyes of that lawyer, who, by the way, at the very first Sitting of the States-General, lost all the reputation for eloquence and information, he had carried thither, and became perfectly ridiculous for his oratorical bathos, puffing, and contorsions. The Abbé *Sieyes*, on the contrary, was of opinion, that the guarantee of all property was but just, but he was against any mention being made of the honorary prerogatives. "What!" said *M. Malouet* to him, "have you any design of "destroying the Nobility?" He replied, "Yes, certainly." Being asked what were his means, he answered—"We shall see; it "behoves us at least to set the *fulcrum*, "and what we cannot accomplish our suc- "cessors may." *M. Malouet* having prevailed on *Target* to adopt his plan of address by making some slight corrections, and depending upon the majority of the *Tiers Etat*, not yet in the secret of the Abbé *Sieyes's* projects, proposed, two days after,

after, a Declaration drawn up on the ſame grounds as his Addreſs to the King; which was very well received, and was going to be put to the vote, when Count *Mirabeau* obſerved to the members near him, and ſpread through the Aſſembly, *that this Declaration was a Meſſage from the Palace.* This hint inſtantly produced the effect intended by *Mirabeau:* the *Tiers Etat* rejected the Declaration propoſed by *M. Malouet,* who from that moment became the object of a general diſtruſt, kept up conſtantly by freſh fabrications.

Count *Mirabeau's* conduct on this occaſion was the conſequence of a pique that he had taken at an incident of which I was informed at the time by *M. Malouet,* who has ſince publiſhed the particulars of it in the * Collection of his Opinions printed in 1792. This anecdote is of too intereſting a nature to be paſſed over in ſilence. It is thus related by *M. Malouet* himſelf.

" I knew *M. de Mirabeau,*" ſays he, " only by his character, from which I was greatly inclined to ſhun him. We took

* Vol. iii.

different sides from the first Sittings of the Assembly, and I little expected to be sought for by him, when *M. du Roverai*, with whom I was acquainted at Geneva, and who was then at Versailles, told me from him, that he wished very much to confer with me. I accepted an appointment at *M. du Roverai's*, where I found another person from Geneva, a *M. Dumons*. This was in the end of May 1789. My distrust of *M. de Mirabeau* kept pace with my prepossession against him. I considered him as one of the most dangerous innovators, and was very much astonished at the manner in which he accosted me. 'I have been 'anxious,' said he, 'for an explanation 'with you, because in spite of your mo- 'deration I discover you to be a friend of 'Liberty; and I am, perhaps, more alarmed 'than you at the ferment I see in the minds 'of men, and at the mischiefs that may 'flow from it. I am not a person to sell 'myself basely to Despotism: I wish for a 'free but Monarchical Constitution. I 'am not for shaking the Monarchy; and if 'measures be not speedily taken, the very 'bad heads, the great inexperience and 'arrogance which I perceive in our Assem-

'bly,

'bly, and the inconsiderate resistance and 'provocation given by the two first Orders, 'make me fear as much as you that there 'will be dreadful commotions. I therefore 'address myself to you as an honest man. You 'are connected with *Mr. Necker* and *M. de* '*Montmorin;* you must know their inten-'tions, and whether they have a plan or 'not. If they have a reasonable plan, I 'will support it.' This declaration made a great impression upon me, and it was sufficiently rational for me to believe it sincere: *Mirabeau's* intellects were sound; he did not choose mischief for mischief's sake. Upon several important questions, and particularly upon the constitution of the Commons, in a National Assembly, his opinions were seen to be Monarchical. I yielded to this explanation with a kind of confidence: I told him frankly, that I thought as he did; that I had no doubt of the necessity for a plan of a reform, and of a Constitution that might satisfy the reasonable expectations of the Nation—but that I did not know, and very much doubted, whether or not the Ministers had any determined plan; that the hesitation I had perceived in them had

alarmed me as much as the arrogance of many of my colleagues.

"'Well,' said he, 'will you propose 'to them to see and confer with me.?'

"I consented, and informed *Mr. Necker* and *M. de Montmorin* of the result of my conversation. I found them both extremely averse to any intercourse with *Mirabeau*, from his immorality, his character, and the little confidence he merited. I contended against all these objections: I represented, that the man who with great talents announced honest views; who, notwithstanding his immorality, did not appear to have yet engaged in any party, and would give great weight to that which he should embrace; and who, far from offering himself to be a corrupt tool, explained himself in such a manner that it was impossible to propose to him any sort of conditions, or fictitious part, deserved to be heard. It was agreed that *Mr. Necker* should receive him the next day, and the conference took place. But *Mirabeau* expected they would open themselves to him, whereas they had only consented to hear what he had to say. He waited for the communication of a plan, and it is probable they had

not one to communicate. The conference accordingly was dry and ſhort: he went away diſcontented, and ſaid to me, as he came into the Hall, *I go there no more, but they ſhall hear of me;* and he has been but too true to his word. There ended our intercourſe, and I was two years without ſpeaking to him."

This anecdote and the preceding one throw a great light upon the characters and views of the three members of the *Tiers Etat*, who at the beginning of the Revolution rendered themſelves moſt remarkable, each in his way, *Mirabeau*, *Target*, and the Abbé *Sieyes**; and alſo give an idea of the principles and conduct of *M. Malouet*, who diſtinguiſhed himſelf by his integrity, by his energy, and by talents generally acknowledged. The extravagance which he found in the opinions of both parties made him commit the fault of not entirely joining that whoſe principles came the neareſt to his own, and the ſyſtem of neutrality which he adopted equally provoked the one and the other. The impartial or moderate members with whom he joined,

* Vide Appendix, No. 1.

attempted in vain to create a third party: they could never obtain conſequence above a petty cabal, becauſe ſuch always has been and always will be the fate of moderate or middling parties, in thoſe great political convulſions called Revolutions, which never offer but one alternative to all thoſe whom their ſituation forces to take a part. They have but to chooſe between that of ſupporting the Revolution with and in the manner of thoſe who are for it, and that of oppoſing it with and in the manner of thoſe who are againſt it: if they take a third, they neceſſarily have the two others for enemies. This *M. Malouet* experienced; and accordingly reproaches and inſults have been heaped upon him from all ſides. But he neither can nor ought to be judged of, but by the opinions he has advanced, ſupported, or oppoſed, either in the Aſſembly of his Bailiwick or in the States-General; and of which he has publiſhed a collection. Some errors will doubtleſs be perceived among them; for who is he that, in thoſe times of effervescence and general delirium, had not ſome to reproach himſelf with? but among them there will alſo be found repeated proofs of his good faith, of the diſintereſtedneſs

eſtedneſs of his zeal, and of the uprightneſs of his intentions.

At this period there was but a very ſmall number of Deputies who foreſaw to what length the fury of innovation would go, if haſte were not made to ſet bounds to it. The union of the Orders was urged, and declared openly throughout the kingdom, to be the only means of public ſafety. The beſt diſpoſed Deputies of the Commons, thoſe who ſo ſoon after as the month of July, diſcovered the greateſt reluctance to the Revolution, did not heſitate to vote for that union; and *M. Malouet*, for having pointed out ſome inconveniencies that might reſult from it, if it took place unconditionally, was from that moment ſtigmatized as *an Enemy to the Nation*. He ſucceeded, however, in perſuading ſome of the more intelligent of his colleagues, that the two higher Orders of the State ought not to be expoſed to total deſtruction, which they would be by inſiſting upon the form of voting individually, before the lawful claims, the property, and eſſential prerogatives of the Clergy and Nobility were ſecured. Such was the ſpirit of his Addreſs, which was ſupported by the wiſeſt men in the chamber of

the *Tiers Etat*, and which would not have been rejected by the majority, had the Clergy and Nobility accepted the conditions propoſed in it, previous to the union; but the efforts he made himſelf, and got others to make, upon this occaſion, among the two higher Orders, being attended with no ſucceſs, *Sieyes*, *Mirabeau*, *Barnave*, and the other members of the *Breton Club*, oppoſed this plan, which thwarted their views; and when the union took place, it was in ſuch a manner only as would ſuit them to deſtroy the Clergy and Nobility.

Although *M. Malouet's* Addreſs was equally diſapproved of by the partiſans of the ancient Conſtitution and the Democrats, it cannot be denied that, in the circumſtances in which it was propoſed, it would have been a very fortunate event had it been adopted.

CHAP-

CHAPTER III.

New conciliatory Conferences—Their Inefficacy—Reſpective Conduct of the Three Orders—Reſolution by which the Tiers Etat conſtitutes itſelf the National Aſſembly—Oath—Another Reſolution of the Tiers Etat, in which the Word DECREE *is uſed for the firſt Time—Popular Tumults excited againſt the two firſt Orders—Royal Sitting announced by Proclamation—The Tiers Etat aſſemble in a Tennis-Court, in defiance of the King's Orders—Oath taken there—A ſingle Deputy refuſes to ſign—The Royal Sitting poſtponed till the 23d of June—The Tiers Etat aſſemble in the Church of St. Louis—Many Deputies of the Order of the Clergy and two or three Members of the Order of the Nobility join the Tiers Etat.*

MEANWHILE the conciliatory conferences, which the Commiſſioners of the Three Orders had at firſt held among themſelves

ſelves without any ſucceſs, were reſumed, by deſire of the King, at the houſe of the Keeper of the Seals, in preſence of the Miniſters, and of *M. de la Michodiere*, *M. d'Ormeſſon*, *M. de Vidaud*, *M. de la Galaiſiere*, Counſellors of State, and *M. de Leſſart*, Maſter of the Requeſts. But they only ſerved to keep the Aſſembly from proceeding to buſineſs without advancing the eſtabliſhment of harmony among the Orders, or rather the unqualified acquieſcence of the two firſt in the claims of the Third; for that was the only means of conciliation to which the *Tiers Etat* would liſten. The conferences were finally broken up on the 8th of June. Thus were the States-General, that had been convoked to aſſiſt the King in the grand object of the regeneration of the kingdom, aſſembled for five weeks without being able to eſtabliſh the legality of their meeting. The Order of the Nobility alone proceeded with diſpatch in verifying the powers of their members; the Order of the Clergy never forſook the part of mediator; and the *Tiers Etat* were planning the means of conſtituting themſelves an active Aſſembly, whether the other Orders conſented or refuſed to join them.

Accordingly on the 10th of June it was reſolved, upon the motion of the Abbé *Sieyes*, that Deputies ſhould be ſent to the Orders of the Clergy and Nobility, to requeſt their attendance in the Hall of the States-General, to unite in ſubmitting to the common verification of the powers. This deputation was charged to declare to them at the ſame time, that the general call of all the Bailiwicks was going to be made in the Hall of the States, and that default would be pronounced againſt the abſentees.

This Reſolution, which completely cloſed every channel of conciliation, had no power to ſhake the Order of the Nobility, who had declared themſelves legally conſtituted, and had already entered upon buſineſs relative to the legiſlature, to the reform of abuſes, and other objects; but it could not fail of making a great impreſſion upon the Order of the Clergy, compoſed as it was, in part, of pariſh prieſts, by birth attached to the *Tiers Etat;* ſo that by the 13th of June three of them went over to that Order in the Common-Hall, and there preſented their powers. The next day ſix more followed the example; and a much greater number

number of them would have joined, had not the *Tiers Etat* themſelves preferred their remaining with their own chamber to ſupport their party in it.

On this day, June 14, the *Tiers Etat* finiſhed verifying the powers of all their members, and the very next day proceeded to conſtitute themſelves; or rather to aſſume ſome title or extraordinary denomination, by which the multitude might be made to conſider them alone as inveſted with all the powers of the States-General, from the ſingle circumſtance of the ſeparation of the other Orders. After much debating upon the grand queſtion of what name they were to be called by; whether they ſhould take the denomination of *The Aſſembly of acknowledged and verified Repreſentatives of the French Nation*, as propoſed by the Abbé *Sieyes;* or, *The Aſſembly of the People*, as ſuggeſted by *Mirabeau;* or, *The Aſſembly of the Repreſentatives of the greateſt Part of the Nation, the ſmaller abſenting*, which *M. Mounier* was of opinion was the only regular one; or, *The Aſſembly of the Repreſentatives of the French People*, which *Rabaut de St. Etienne* thought ſufficient; it was at laſt determined, upon a new

new motion of the Abbé *Sieyes*, that the Aſſembly compoſed of the Deputies of the *Tiers Etat* ſhould take the title of THE NATIONAL ASSEMBLY. This famous reſolution, which was not adopted till the 17th of June, was drawn up in the following terms:

"The Aſſembly, on conſideration, after concluding the verification of their powers, find that this Meeting is already compoſed of Repreſentatives directly returned by at leaſt ninety-ſix in a hundred of the Nation.

"A Repreſentative body of ſuch magnitude muſt not remain idle on account of the abſence of the Deputies of ſome Bailiwicks, or of ſome claſſes of citizens; for the abſentees, who have been ſummoned, cannot prevent thoſe who have appeared from exerciſing all their rights, eſpecially when the exerciſe of thoſe rights is an indiſpenſable and preſſing duty.

"Moreover, as thoſe Repreſentatives only who have verified can concur in forming the National Voice, and as every Repreſentative who has verified is to be found in this Aſſembly, it neceſſarily follows, that it belongs to them, and them alone,

alone, to interpret and make known the general will of the Nation. No other Chamber of Deputies, ſimply preſumptive, can diminiſh the force of their deliberations; in ſhort, there can exiſt between the Throne and this Aſſembly no negative power.

" Accordingly, the Aſſembly declare, that the common work of National Reſtoration can and ought to be begun without delay by the Deputies preſent, and that they ought to go on without interruption and without oppoſition.

" The title of *National Aſſembly* is the only one ſuitable to the Aſſembly in the preſent ſtate of things, becauſe the members that compoſe it are the only Repreſentatives who have legally and publicly verified their powers; becauſe they are directly returned by almoſt the whole body of the Nation; laſtly, becauſe, the National Repreſentation being one and indiviſible, none of the Deputies, from whatever claſs choſen, have any right to exerciſe their functions ſeparately from the preſent Aſſembly.

" The Aſſembly will never relinquiſh the hope of being joined by the Deputies now abſent, nor ceaſe to call upon them to diſcharge the obligation they are under of con-

concurring to hold the States-General: And they declare beforehand, that if the abſent Deputies ſhould, in the courſe of the Seſſions now about to be opened, preſent themſelves, they would receive them with open arms, and ſhare with them, after the verification of their powers, the continuation of the labours for regenerating France.

" The National Aſſembly reſolve, that the motives of the preſent determination ſhall be drawn up, in order to be preſented to the King, and to the Nation."

After this Reſolution all the members took the following Oath, the form of which was propoſed by *Target:*

" We promiſe and ſwear before God, " the Country, and the King, zealouſly to " diſcharge the duties with which we are " entruſted."

The Aſſembly, convinced no doubt that this Oath, and the title they had aſſumed, had inveſted them with all the National Sovereignty, or rather anxious to leave no time for its being doubted, haſtened to diſplay and prove their power, by declaring all the exiſting modes of levying contributions to be illegal and null in their creations, extenſions, and prerogatives; by authoriſing pro-

provisionally the continuation of them, prescribing the time when they should cease; and by giving the creditors of the State the security of the honour and faith of the French Nation. With this view, they entered into the following Resolution:

"The National Assembly, considering that the first use which they ought to make of their powers, the exercise of which the Nation has recovered under the auspices of a Monarch, who, judging the rights of a Nation to be the real glory of Kings, has placed his own on acknowledging those of the French People, is to secure the energy of public administration;

"Willing to prevent the difficulties that may obstruct the levying of the contributions; difficulties the more serious, as they are supported on a Constitutional and ever sacred principle clearly acknowledged by the King, and solemnly proclaimed in all the Assemblies of the Nation, namely, the principle which allows of no levy of money, or contributions in the kingdom, without the express consent of the Representatives of the Nation;

"Considering, that in fact the contributions as they are at present gathered through-

out

out the kingdom, not having been granted by the Nation, are all illegal, and conſequently null in their creations, extenſions, and prerogatives;

"DECLARE, that they conſent proviſionally for the Nation, that the impoſts and contributions, although illegally eſtabliſhed and gathered, ſhall continue to be levied in the ſame manner as they have hitherto been, until the day of the ſeparation of this Aſſembly, in whatever manner that may be cauſed, and no longer.

"After which day the National Aſſembly mean, and DECREE, that all levies of impoſts and contributions, of whatever nature, which ſhall not have been expreſsly, formally, and freely granted by the Nation, ſhall entirely ceaſe throughout all the provinces of the kingdom, whatever be the form of their government.

"The Aſſembly declare alſo, that as ſoon as they ſhall, in concert with his Majeſty, have fixed the principles of the National regeneration, they will proceed to the examination and liquidation of the public debt, giving the creditors of the State from this time ſecurity on the honour and faith of the French Nation.

" Laſtly, the Aſſembly, now conſtituted to tranſact buſineſs, find it one of their firſt duties to inquire into the cauſes that have produced the ſcarcity under which the provinces are labouring, and to provide the means of remedying it in the moſt effectual and expeditious manner. Accordingly they reſolve, that a Committee ſhall be appointed to proceed on that important buſineſs, and that his Majeſty ſhall be prayed to cauſe all the documents of which they may ſtand in need, to be laid before the ſaid Committee.

" The preſent Reſolution ſhall be printed, and ſent into all the provinces."

Theſe Reſolutions were no ſooner read than the Hall reſounded with the cries of *Vive le Roi!* from the members of the Aſſembly, and from the ſtrangers with whom the galleries were crowded. This was either to make the People, whoſe fidelity was not yet ſhaken, believe that theſe Reſolutions, the conſequences of which they were incapable of ſeeing, were favourable to the King, or to deceive his Majeſty himſelf, and remove from his mind all diſtruſt of the intentions of the *Tiers-Etat*. Certain it is, that, from the very beginning of the Revolution, the cry of *Vive le Roi* ſeemed to

be chiefly devoted to the purpoſe of ſignalizing every attack made upon the Royal authority. It is alſo to be remarked, that it was in the laſt of theſe Revolutions that the Aſſembly for the firſt time employed the word *decree:* and it was not without meaning that they adopted that expreſſion, which having hitherto had no acception in the legiſlative ſtyle, might be conſidered as more modeſt than the word *ordain*, and even as reſpectful to the Royal prerogative. But from the verb *to decree* was immediately formed the ſubſtantive *Decree*, which the Aſſembly gave as a title to all its determinations, and the ſenſe of which became progreſſively as unlimited as the power of thoſe who gave it its new acception.

The ringleaders who at the Sitting of the 17th of June had emboldened the *Tiers-Etat* to make ſo very raſh a trial of the ſtrength they derived from the double repreſentation, were too accute not to foreſee that ſo ſerious an attack upon the rights of the Clergy and Nobility, and upon the Royal authority itſelf, could not be ſupported but by extraordinary means. The ſureſt and moſt potent was the ſuccour of the populace, who were already but too much diſ-

poſed to protect, after their faſhion, the members of the *Tiers-Etat*, whom they conſidered as the defenders of their intereſts againſt the other two Orders. Hence the howlings and imprecations of that frantic multitude, who were at this juncture ſeen for ſome days ſurrounding the Halls of the States; hence the inſults and menaces directed not only againſt the principal members of the two firſt Orders, but likewiſe againſt thoſe of the *Tiers-Etat* who, becauſe they were moderate, were conſidered as ſuſpicious. This temper was propagated and kept alive in the provinces, through numerous emiſſaries, by fabricated tales ſent to them from Verſailles and Paris. The *Palais-Royal* was become the ordinary rendezvous of the ſeditious, where they publicly preached murder, aſſaſſination, and the moſt atrocious crimes, as ſo many acts of patriotiſm. The ſilence of the Council, and their irreſolution upon the different meaſures propoſed to them, favoured the manœuvres of the *Tiers-Etat* in the Chamber of the Clergy and Nobility, where the new victories daily gained by them increaſed the agitation that prevailed, and proclaimed an approaching diviſion.

While

While things were in this ſtate, the following Proclamation was made by the Heralds, on the 20th of June, between ſeven and eight o'clock in the morning, in the ſtreets and croſs-ways of Verſailles :

" *June 20th.* (By Order of the King.) The King having reſolved to hold a Royal Sitting in the States-General, on Monday next the 22d of June, the preparations to be made in the three Halls uſed by the Aſſemblies of the Orders make it neceſſary that thoſe Aſſemblies ſhould be ſuſpended until after the ſaid Sitting. His Majeſty will give notice, by another Proclamation, of the hour of his going to the Aſſembly of the States on Monday."

M. Bailly, the Preſident of the *Tiers-Etat*, had been made acquainted with the object of this Proclamation, by a private letter which was ſent to him by the Marquis *de Brezé* at ſeven o'clock in the morning; and to which he replied, " that having received no orders from the King, and the Aſſembly having been announced for eight o'clock, he ſhould attend where his duty called him."

He repaired, accompanied by a great number of the members of the *Tiers-Etat*,

to the door of the Hall of the States, demanded admiſſion; and on being refuſed by the officer on guard, according to his orders, with which he acquainted him, he declared that he proteſted againſt ſuch orders, and that he ſhould give a report of them to the Aſſembly. To do this he had not far to go, as three-fourths of the deputies of the *Tiers-Etat* were already collected round him, or in the avenue leading to the Palace. There it was that, ſurrounded by an immenſe crowd of people, they declaimed in the moſt violent manner againſt this pretended act of Deſpotiſm. "The National Aſſembly is to be diſſolved," ſaid they, "and the country to be plunged into the horrors of a civil war. Want reigns every where; every where the People ſee famine ſtaring them in the face. This we were about to put an end to, by rending the veil which covers the manœuvres of the monopoliſts, the engroſſers, and the whole tribe of miſcreants. The *Louiſes* 11 and 13, the *Richelieus*, the *Mazarins*, the *Briennes*, attacked with their deſpotiſm only individuals or ſmall bodies; but here it is the whole Nation that is made the ſport of the whims of a deſpotic Miniſtry. "Let us meet upon the *Place d'Armes*,"

d'Armes," ſaid one of thoſe orators; "there we ſhall recall ſome of the nobleſt days of our hiſtory, *the National Aſſemblies of the Field of May.*" "Let us aſſemble in the gallery of the Palace," ſaid another; "there we ſhall preſent a new ſight, by ſpeaking the language of Liberty, in that corrupt Hall, where a little while ſince the head of him who ſhould have uttered that ſacred word would have been devoted to the executioner."—"No, no," ſaid a third, "let us go to Marli, and hold our Sitting on the Terrace:—let the King hear us, he will come from his Palace, and will have nothing more to do than to place himſelf in the midſt of his People to hold the Royal Sitting."

At the concluſion of theſe declamations, the ſole object of which was to alarm and exaſperate the People, the Aſſembly decided upon transferring their Sitting to the Tennis-Court, in the ſtreet called *rue du Vieux Verſailles.* There *M. Bailly* read the letter which he had received from *M. de Brezé,* and his anſwer to it; which he had ſcarcely done, when a ſecond letter from *M. de Brezé* was put into his hands, the contents of which were as follows:

"It was by the King's poſitive order,

Sir, that I did myſelf the honour of writing to you this morning, to acquaint you that, his Majeſty purpoſing to hold a Royal Sitting on Monday, and ſome preparations being requiſite in the three Halls of the Aſſemblies of the Orders, it was his intention that no perſon ſhould be admitted into them, and that the Sittings ſhould be ſuſpended till after that to be held by his Majeſty."

On hearing this letter read, ſome demoniacs cried out, that the Marquis *de Brezé* was guilty of treaſon againſt the country, and that he ſhould be impeached of that crime, if he did not produce, in his defence, the Order written by the King's hand.

M. Bailly then roſe, and, after vehemently lamenting the melancholy fate which ſeemed to threaten the National Aſſembly, propoſed that they ſhould conſider what part it was proper to take under ſuch difficult circumſtances; and this conſideration was ſucceeded by the following reſolution, moved by *M. Mounier*, who was convinced, as were the greater part of his colleagues, that it was the deſign of the Miniſtry to diſſolve the States-General:

"The National Aſſembly, conſidering that,

that, being called upon to ſettle the Conſtitution of the Kingdom, to effect the regeneration of public order, and to ſupport the true principles of the Monarchy, nothing ſhould prevent them from continuing their deliberations, and completing the important work for which they were convened; and alſo conſidering that in whatever place they may be forced to hold their Sittings; or in ſhort, wherever its members ſhall meet, there they are the National Aſſembly; reſolve, that all the members of this Aſſembly ſhall inſtantly take a ſolemn oath not to ſeparate finally, but to meet, wherever circumſtances may make it requiſite, until the Conſtitution of the Kingdom, and the regeneration of public order be eſtabliſhed and firmly ſettled upon ſolid foundations; and that after this oath has been taken by all its members, and they individually ſhall all and every of them, by their ſignatures, confirm their immoveable Reſolution."

This famous oath, ſince called *the Tennis-Court-Oath*, was taken with the higheſt tranſports of enthuſiaſm, firſt by *M. Bailly* and the Secretaries, and then by all the members of the Aſſembly: at the ſame time the cry of *Vive le Roi* reſounded through

through the Hall, and was re-echoed from the ſtreets and from the windows of the adjoining houſes.

One Deputy alone, whoſe name deſerves to be tranſmitted to poſterity, *M. Martin d'Auch*, a Deputy from Caſtelnaudary, had the courage obſtinately to refuſe his ſignature to the oath.

At this critical moment, which was certainly ſufficiently ſerious to engage all the attention of the Miniſters, as the fate of the Monarchy hung upon it, and as the ſlighteſt fault, the leaſt negligence on their part, would be enough to ruin the State; *Mr. Necker*, whoſe vanity and ignorance had created this danger, left the King at Marli, to go and ſee his ſiſter-in-law who was indiſpoſed at Paris; or, rather, ſuch was the pretence with which he endeavoured to conceal the pique he took at ſome ſlight corrections made in his plans of Declarations for the Royal Sitting, although the corrections were not adopted by the King without the advice of his Council, to which *Monſieur*, the Count *d'Artois*, and ſeveral Counſellors of State, had been ſummoned for the occaſion.

As the framing theſe Declarations over again, and the preparations that were to be made

made at the Halls of the three Orders, could not be finiſhed ſo ſoon as Monday the 22d, a new Proclamation was made by the Heralds, announcing that the Royal Sitting appointed for that day was fixed for the next, at ten o'clock in the morning, and inviting *the Deputies to the States-General* to attend. *M. Bailly* was appriſed of it on Sunday, by a letter from the King, which the Marquis *de Brezé* was charged to forward to him, and the very addreſs of which was an indication that his Majeſty did not approve of the Reſolutions of the 17th of June; for, inſtead of the title of *Preſident of the National Aſſembly*, beſtowed by thoſe Reſolutions on *M. Bailly*, the King gave him ſimply that of *Preſident of the Order of the Tiers-Etat*.

Notwithſtanding this letter, *M. Bailly* repaired the next morning, at the head of the Deputies of the *Tiers-Etat* to the Tennis-Court, which by that time was nearly filled with the people, drawn thither by the deſire of being witneſs to ſo ſolemn an act of diſobedience. It was certainly a ſight ſufficiently novel to excite their curioſity. This Sitting, however, was not held at the Tennis-Court; either becauſe the Hall (a part of it

it being already occupied by the crowd) was not large enough to contain at once *the repreſenting and repreſented*, or becauſe the ringleaders, who had the greateſt influence in the *Tiers-Etat*, flattered themſelves that they ſhould affect the People more powerfully, and exaſperate them more and more againſt the other two Orders, and againſt the Miniſters, by letting them ſee the National Aſſembly wandering from ſtreet to ſtreet, in ſearch of a place to continue their deliberations.

The *Tiers-Etat*, leaving the Tennis-Court, repaired to the Franciſcan Convent, and deſired permiſſion to aſſemble in their church; but the good monks, who were living on the King's bounty, replied, that "they could not poſſibly conſent that an Aſſembly in oppoſition to his Majeſty's orders ſhould be held at their houſe." The Deputies, diſappointed at this anſwer, denounced vengeance, and betook themſelves again to the door of the Hall of the States, where they were refuſed admiſſion by the ſentinel. They then proceeded without heſitation to the church of *St. Louis*, which they entered without any difficulty, as if the plan had been previouſly concerted; and it is more

more than probable that this precaution had not been neglected. They ranged themſelves in the nave of the church, and commenced their operations, by tendering the oath decreed at the firſt Sitting in the Tennis-Court, to thoſe Deputies who had been abſent from that Sitting. At this time the Biſhop of *Chartres* and many Deputies of the Clergy aſſembled in the choir of the ſame church, and deputed eight of their members to the *Tiers-Etat*, to inquire if they were willing to allow the Clergy their uſual precedency. The reply to this deputation was—"That the National Aſſembly reſpected the rights of the firſt Order of the State, and that, far from attacking the honours due to them, they would be the foremoſt to defend them." At the ſame time it was obſerved to thoſe Deputies, that the ſeats placed on the right of the Preſident were reſerved for the Clergy;—a ſtriking indication that all this ſcene had been previouſly concerted.

On this aſſurance, the Biſhop of *Chartres*, who was at the head of the deputation, opened the doors of the choir; when the members of the Clergy coming forward placed themſelves at the right of

the Preſident, and announced that they attended in the National Aſſembly, for the purpoſe of verifying the powers; and laying theirs upon the table, ſixteen of their members were immediately appointed on the Committee of verification *. The joy produced by this coalition broke out into long acclamations of applauſe, ſtill accompanied with the cries of *Vive le Roi*.

Towards the end of this Sitting two or three Deputies of the Nobility alſo came in, preſented their powers, and were well received. They were conſidered as the forerunners of the minority of their Order.

* This ſtep, as irregular as unexpected, was not only unſanctioned by the Order of the Clergy, who, according to the King's command, had ſuſpended their Sittings ſince the 20th of June, but was alſo entirely unknown to them, and was the effect of the intrigues and clandeſtine manœuvres of the Faction to create a diviſion between the two firſt Orders.

CHAPTER

CHAPTER IV.

Royal Sitting of the 23d of June 1789—The King's Speech—The Orders of the Clergy and Nobility leave the Aſſembly immediately after the King, and in obedience to his Orders—The Tiers-Etat, excited to diſobedience by Mirabeau, continue ſitting—Anſwer made by them to the Grand Maſter of the Ceremonies—They confirm the Reſolutions juſt annulled by the King, and declare their Perſons inviolable—Speech of the Abbé Sieyes, and the Reſolution it produced—Weakneſs of the Council in this Circumſtance—The Meaſures they ſhould have adopted—The Archbiſhop of Paris pelted with Stones by the Mob—is reſcued by the French Guards.

THE next day at ten o'clock in the morning, the Deputies of the three Orders repaired to the door of the Hall of the States-General,

General, as directed in the King's Proclamation made the evening before. The adjoining ſtreets and grand avenue were lined with large detachments of the French and Swiſs Guards, and of the Guards of the Provoſt Marſhal's Court (*la Prévôté*). Several parties of the *Maréchauſſée* ſtationed about the building of the States-General diſperſed the crowds that were gathering, and prevented a mob. The twelve hundred Deputies not being able to enter all at once, thoſe of the Clergy were uſhered in firſt, then thoſe of the Nobility, and laſtly thoſe of the *Tiers-Etat*, who were the more out of humour at this ceremony, as a heavy rain was falling at the time. A large room, however, had been run up with boards, at the principal entry, where they all met to wait their turn to go in.

As ſoon as the Deputies were placed, the King made his entrance, attended by the Princes, Peers, great Officers, and retinue uſually diſplayed on grand occaſions. The moment he appeared, all the Deputies took off their hats and roſe. He ſeated himſelf upon the Throne, having the Clergy on his right, and the Nobility on his left; the remainder

mainder of the benches on both ſides, down to the door oppoſite to him, was occupied by the *Tiers-Etat*. In the middle of the Hall were the King at Arms and his four Heralds. The Miniſters were ſeated on ſtools round a table, at the foot of the platform which ſupported the Throne: one of theſe ſtools remaining empty drew the attention of the members of the *Tiers-Etat*, and ſeemed to affect them deeply—it was the one that had been deſtined for Mr. *Necker*. This Miniſter had the inſolence to be abſent from this Sitting without previouſly informing the King of his intention; and by his perfidious arrogance this important meaſure, which he had himſelf propoſed and judged indiſpenſable, was rendered a thouſand times more prejudicial than uſeful.

The cries of *Vive le Roi*, which had accompanied his Majeſty from the Palace, were reiterated in the Aſſembly when the King entered—but only by the Clergy and Nobility, for the *Tiers-Etat* preſerved a dead ſilence.

As ſoon as the King had taken his ſeat upon the Throne, the Deputies of the three

Orders ſat down all at once, without waiting, according to the ancient form, for his Majeſty's permiſſion to do ſo. At this ſolemn Sitting, rendered memorable on the one hand by the weakneſs and errors of the Government, and on the other by the audacity and encroachments of ſeditious men, the King made three Speeches, which ought to be preſerved as ſo many monuments of the purity of his intentions, and of his paternal feelings for the People. He began as follows:

"GENTLEMEN,

"When I determined to call you together; when I ſurmounted all the difficulties with which your convocation was attended; when I anticipated, as I may ſay, the wiſhes of the Nation, by manifeſting how much I would do to make them happy, I thought I had done all in my power for the good of my People.

"It ſeemed as if nothing remained but for you to complete the work I had begun; and the Nation have been impatiently awaiting the moment, when, through the concurrence of the beneficent views of their Sovereign

reign and the enlightened zeal of their Repreſentatives, they might enjoy the proſperity which ſuch an union ſhould produce.

" The States-General have been opened nearly for two months, and they have not yet been able to ſettle the preliminaries of their proceedings. A perfect good underſtanding ought to have ſprung from the love of your country alone, whereas a deplorable diviſion ſpreads alarm through every mind. I will believe, and I have pleaſure in thinking, that the French are not altered; but to avoid throwing reproach upon any of you, I conſider that the renewal of the States-General after ſo long an interval, the agitation which preceded it, the object of this convocation, ſo different from that for which your anceſtors were aſſembled, the reſtrictions in the powers, and ſeveral other circumſtances, have unavoidably led to oppoſition, diſputes, and exorbitant claims.

" It is a duty I owe my kingdom in general, it is a duty I owe myſelf, to put an end to theſe deplorable diviſions; and for that purpoſe, Gentlemen, it is that I have again called you to meet me. As the common Father of all my ſubjects, as the Defender of the laws of my kingdom, I am

come to point out their true ſpirit, and to repreſs the attempts which may have been made againſt it.

" But, Gentlemen, after eſtabliſhing clearly the reſpective rights of the different Orders, I expect, from the zeal of the two firſt Orders for their country—I expect, from their attachment to my perſon—I expect, from the knowledge they have of the urgencies of the State, that, in matters which regard the general weal, they will be the firſt to propoſe a union of deliberation and opinions, which I conſider as neceſſary at the preſent criſis, on which the welfare of the State depends."

One of the Miniſters then read the Declaration which I have inſerted in the Appendix to the Firſt Volume of my Private Memoirs, page 359; after which the King continued thus:

" It is alſo my deſire, Gentlemen, that the ſeveral advantages I grant to my people ſhould be laid before you. But this is not to circumſcribe your zeal within the circle I trace; for I ſhall adopt with pleaſure every other meaſure of public good which ſhall be propoſed

propoſed by the States-General. I may ſay, without flattering myſelf, that no King has ever done ſo much for any Nation; but what other Nation has ever better deſerved it by their affectionate loyalty than the French? I will not ſcruple to ſay, that thoſe who by exorbitant claims, or ill-timed cavils, ſhould ſtill protract the effect of my paternal intentions, would render themſelves unworthy of being conſidered as Frenchmen."

This Speech was followed by the reading of the ſecond Declaration, alſo inſerted in the Appendix to the Firſt Volume of my Private Memoirs, page 366.

So prejudiced were the minds to whom it was addreſſed, that this generous Declaration, which inſured the ſucceſs of every uſeful project that could be propoſed, and which granted more than could have been expected, more than was demanded by the majority of the Inſtructions, was in general coldly received. It might have been ſuſpected that the Aſſembly were jealous that the King had left them ſo little to do for the happineſs of the Nation; eſpecially the *Tiers-Etat*, who, ſince the daring

flight they had taken at the Sittings held in the Tennis-Court, and in the church of *St. Louis*, conſidered themſelves as ſovereign moderators and ſole arbiters of the deſtiny of France.

After a profound ſilence of ſome moments, which followed the reading of this ſecond Declaration, the King concluded the Sitting with the following Speech;

" You have now, Gentlemen, heard the reſult of my intentions and my views. They are conſonant with the lively deſire I feel of reſtoring public proſperity; and if by ſome fatality, unthought of by me, you ſhould deſert me in ſo glorious an undertaking, alone I will labour for my People's good—alone will conſider myſelf as their real Repreſentative;—and as I know the inſtructions you have received—as I know the perfect concord exiſting between the moſt general wiſh of the Nation and my own well-inclined intentions, I ſhall feel all the confidence that muſt flow from ſo uncommon a harmony, and proceed towards the object I am anxious to attain, with the courage and firmneſs it muſt inſpire.

" Reflect, Gentlemen, that none of your Plans,

Plans, none of your Reſolutions, can acquire the force of law without my ſpecial concurrence. Thus am I the natural ſupporter of your reſpective rights, and all the Orders of the State may rely upon my inviolable impartiality. Any diſtruſt on your part would be great injuſtice. I have myſelf hitherto done every thing for the happineſs of my People; and it is perhaps rare, that the only ambition of a Sovereign ſhould be to prevail upon his ſubjects to agree at laſt, and accept his favours.

"I command you, Gentlemen, now to ſeparate, and to repair to-morrow morning each to the chamber appropriated to his Order, there to reſume your Sittings. I command the Grand Maſter of the Ceremonies to ſee the Halls prepared accordingly."

When he had concluded this Speech, the King deſcended from the Throne, and left the Hall, followed by the retinue which had attended him thither. The populace that crowded the Courts of the Palace, reſtrained no doubt by the emiſſaries of the Aſſembly, kept, for the firſt time, the moſt profound ſilence as his Majeſty paſſed; and

the moment when he had ſhown himſelf more worthy than ever of the love of his ſubjects, and of the acclamations by which it was uſually expreſſed, was that choſen by the Factious to rob him of this homage.

After the King had left the Hall, almoſt all the Biſhops, ſome Prieſts, and the greater part of the Nobility, retired, in obedience tō the command with which the King concluded his Speech. The reſt of the Deputies remained in their places, at a loſs what part to take: they looked at one another, as if waiting for a leading opinion to put an end to this ſtate of irreſolution. The impreſſion which the ſecond Declaration and the King's Speech had made on ſeveral of them, was upon the point of carrying it; a movement almoſt general throughout the Hall intimated an intention to obey, and to accept the means of conciliation announced by his Majeſty; but *Mirabeau*, juſtly fearing that a conduct ſo prudent, and ſo proper in all reſpects, would leave him only a part to play with which his ambitious and turbulent ſpirit could not be ſatisfied, unhappily in an inſtant changed the diſpoſi-

tion

tion of the Aſſembly by the following Speech: "Gentlemen, I confeſs that what you have juſt heard might be for the welfare of the country, if the gifts of Deſpotiſm were not always dangerous. Why this dictatorial language, this train of arms, this violation of the National Temple, to command you to be happy? Who gives you the command? Your Vicegerent. Who makes imperious laws for you? Your Vicegerent: he who ſhould receive them from you; from us, Gentlemen, who are inveſted with a political and inviolable ſupremacy; from us, to whom alone twenty-five millions of men are looking for certain happineſs, as it muſt be granted, given, and received by all. But the freedom of your debates is fettered; a military force encircles the States. Where are the enemies of the Nation? Is *Catiline* at our gates? I inſiſt that, arming yourſelves with your dignity and your legiſlative authority, you recollect the religious force of your oath; an oath that does not ſuffer you to ſeparate until you have eſtabliſhed the Conſtitution."

This harangue, or rather this abſurd and ſeditious flouriſh, delivered with the moſt emphatic

emphatic vehemence, miſled the Deputies. They became warm and irritated, as if the King, who had only adjourned the Sittings till the next morning in order to give the workmen time to put the Hall into a proper ſtate, had really diſſolved the Aſſembly. But it was the height of effrontery and abſurdity to call on the Tennis-Court Oath to ſanction diſobedience and revolt, as a religious duty, as if that Oath had not juſt been pronounced null, and as if it had bound the Aſſembly to the ridiculous obligation of finiſhing the Conſtitution at a ſingle Sitting.

The Marquis *de Brezé*, on finding that it was made a queſtion whether the orders, with the execution of which he was charged, ſhould be obeyed or not, advanced into the middle of the Hall, and ſaid a few words which were not heard. "Louder!" "louder!" was cried on every ſide. He then ſaid, in a more confident tone, "Gentlemen, you have heard the King's intentions."

"Yes, Sir," replied *Mirabeau*, "we have heard the intentions which have been ſuggeſted to the King; and you, who cannot be his organ

organ in the States-General—you, who have here neither ſeat nor voice, nor right to ſpeak, have no buſineſs to put us in mind of his Speech. However, to avoid all ambiguity and procraſtination, I declare, that if you have been commiſſioned to turn us out of this place, you muſt go get orders to employ force; for we will not quit our ſeats unleſs compelled at the point of the bayonet."

A great number of the Deputies cried out together, "Yes! yes! nothing but force can drive us hence: the Aſſembly are determined."

M. Bailly obſerving that the Marquis *de Brezé* was not ſatisfied with this anſwer, and ſuppoſing, no doubt, that he only waited to be informed of the intentions of the Aſſembly in a more regular manner, thus addreſſed him in his official capacity of Preſident:—"The Aſſembly reſolved yeſterday that they would continue to ſit after the Royal Sitting: I can make no change in that Reſolution; it muſt be diſcuſſed by the Aſſembly."

It was not true that the *Tiers Etat* had entered into ſuch a Reſolution the day before.

fore. *Mirabeau* would not have failed to adduce it, had it been ſo. Thus a very groſs falſehood was all the pretence made by the Aſſembly for diſobeying the orders of the King.

"Am I, Sir," ſaid the Marquis *de Brezé*, "to carry this anſwer to the King?" "Yes, Sir," replied the Preſident.

The Marquis *de Brezé* being gone, the Aſſembly had no buſineſs more preſſing, than to confirm all the Reſolutions it had taken previous to that day, and eſpecially the one adopted at the Tennis-Court, in ſpite of the Declaration by which it had juſt been pronounced null. *Camus*, one of the Deputies, maintained, that the King's order could be conſidered only as a mere act of the Council's, and conſequently that no ſcruple ſhould be made in diſobeying it.

Mirabeau, who had been the firſt to excite the Aſſembly to rebel againſt the King, fearing he ſhould likewiſe be the firſt brought to account, now exclaimed, with infinitely more hypocriſy and fear than with real enthuſiaſm—"Bleſſed be Liberty for ripening ſuch noble fruit in the National Aſſembly!—Let us enſure our work by declaring the perſons of the Deputies to the States-

States-General inviolable. This is no manifeſtation of fear; it is to act with prudence; it is to bridle the violent counſels that beſiege the Throne." This propoſition was received with ecſtacy, and the diſcuſſion it produced was ſoon crowned with the following Reſolution:

"Conſidering the neceſſity of ſecuring the freedom of ſpeech, and the right of each Deputy to the States-General to inquire into, cenſure, and denounce, every kind of abuſe and impediment to public happineſs and to liberty, the National Aſſembly RESOLVE, That the perſon of each Deputy is inviolable; and that every perſon, whether public or private, every corporation, court, or commiſſion whatſoever, that ſhall, during or after the preſent Seſſion, reproach, call to account, or cauſe to be called to account, ill-treat, or cauſe to be ill-treated, arreſt, or cauſe to be arreſted, detain, or cauſe to be detained, the perſon or perſons of one or more Deputies, for any propoſition, advice, opinion, or ſpeech, advanced, given, or made by him or them, in or to the States-General, or in any of their official Aſſemblies or Committees, ſhall be deemed infamous,

mous, and traitors to their country: And alſo, that on all ſuch occaſions, the National Aſſembly ſhall uſe all neceſſary means to cauſe thoſe who ſhall be the authors, inſtigators, and exciters of them, to be brought to account."

This Reſolution paſſed by a majority of 443 againſt 34. It inſtantly diſpelled all anxieties, all fears, and inſpired even the moſt timid with boldneſs. The effect it produced appears in the Speech made at the end of this Sitting by the famous Abbé *Sieyes*, as well known for his cowardice as for the obſcure depth of his political notions. The following are the moſt intelligible expreſſions of that Speech, ſuch as they were collected by one of his hearers:

"However ſtormy, Gentlemen, the circumſtances in which we are appear, we have ſtill the light of Truth and Principles to guide us. Let us only dare to conſult theſe, and we ſhall ſee embarraſſments, difficulties, uncertainty, and even fear, if any exiſted in the National Aſſembly, flying at once before them. Let us inquire what powers we exerciſe—what miſſion this is on which we

are dispatched from all parts of France, and brought together within these walls. Are we but the Officers, the Agents of the King? His voice has been heard; there can be no more doubt, and we must obey. Are we, on the contrary, the Envoys of the People? Let us then discharge our mission. How awful, how august, the deputation of twenty-six millions of men united for Liberty! Is there a single man amongst us who could be willing to resign the high trust vested in him, and dare to return to his constituents with language of this kind—*You have placed the destiny of France in hands too feeble; I have been afraid—send some man in my stead, more worthy of appearing your Representative?* Gentlemen, we have sworn, and our oath shall not be in vain, we have sworn to restore the French People to their rights. The authority which has appointed us to this great undertaking, upon which alone we depend, and which is very able to protect us, is certainly very far yet from calling to us, *It is enough—stop here.* On the contrary, it accuses our tardiness, hastens us, demands a Constitution; and who can form it without us?—who can form it but ourselves? Is there a power

power upon earth that can ſnatch from you the right of repreſenting your conſtituents—that can prevent our deliberating upon the intereſts entruſted to us? *Do you not, Gentlemen, feel that you are to-day all that you were yeſterday?* Yes! we will continue our labours—we will purſue our ſublime miſſion, diſdaining the ſorry aulic ceremonials that would in vain have tainted the National Sanctuary: in vain, for the virtues of Liberty are well able to purify the pollutions of Deſpotiſm."

He concluded by moving "that all the Sittings of the National Aſſembly ſhould be public, and that no authority could render them ſecret." This was reſolved with loud applauſe.

There could not have been a more favourable opportunity for diſſolving this inſolent and rebellious Aſſembly, and for re-eſtabliſhing the Royal authority; which could not but be entirely overthrown if ſo ſolemn an act of diſobedience were left unpuniſhed. The King, encouraged by the enthuſiaſm which the ſanction he had juſt given to the petitions contained in the majority of the Inſtructions could not fail to excite in

in the provinces, might without fear have uſed violence, if not againſt the whole Aſſembly, at leaſt againſt thoſe of it who, not ſatisfied with remaining aſſembled contrary to his Majeſty's expreſs orders, rejected his favours with the moſt diſguſting arrogance. The Sittings held at the Tennis-Court, and at the church of *St. Louis*, but too ſurely prognoſticated that ſuch would be the conduct of the majority of the *Tiers-Etat*. The Council ſhould have foreſeen it, and ſhould have been prepared for the part it would be neceſſary to take: for there was but one. When the account was given by the Grand Maſter of the Ceremonies, of a part of the Aſſembly refuſing to obey the orders of the King, and of the Reſolutions adopted upon the motions of *Mirabeau*, *Camus*, and others, a meſſage ſhould have been ſent to all the members of the two firſt Orders, who could have been found, to repair immediately to their reſpective Chambers; and at the ſame time his Majeſty ſhould have returned to the Hall of the States with his Miniſters, and have addreſſed the Deputies remaining there nearly in the following terms:

"GENTLEMEN,

"The anſwer which my Grand Maſter of the Ceremonies has tranſmitted to me from you, and the ſeditious Reſolutions which you have juſt adopted, contrary to the expreſs orders I gave you to ſeparate, allow me no longer to conſider you as the Repreſentatives of a Nation whoſe love, reſpect, and fidelity for its Kings have never failed. I can ſee in you only rebellious ſubjects, traitors to their conſtituents and to their country; or madmen, totally loſt in a deplorable frenzy. You have therefore ſhown yourſelves *unworthy* or *incapable* of co-operating with me for the good of the State; and although my feelings lead me to conſider you in the latter view, that you may be treated with leſs ſeverity, yet muſt I not ſuffer you any longer to impede the accompliſhment of my intentions for the comfort of my people. My Keeper of the Seals will inform you of my will."

At this time the members of the two firſt Orders, having been ſummoned, would have entered the Hall; and as ſoon as they had taken their ſeats, a Declaration ſhould have been

been read, by which the King ſhould have pronounced the ſeparation of the States-General, and convoked a new Aſſembly. This Declaration, which might have been drawn up in a quarter of an hour, ſhould have contained the following arrangements:

"Whereas the ſpirit of ſedition and of revolt which has been manifeſted in the Aſſembly of the States-General from its opening, and particularly in the Reſolutions of this day, adopted at a Sitting held contrary to the orders of the King after the Royal Sitting, cannot but eſſentially endanger the ſafety of the State, his Majeſty has ordained, and doth ordain as follows:

"ART. I. The King diſmiſſes, diſſolves, and ſeparates the preſent Aſſembly of the States-General, and orders that a new one be convoked, according to the forms heretofore uſed for the convocation of the ſaid Aſſemblies, and conformably to the inſtructions to be ſent by his Majeſty to all the Bailiwicks of his kingdom.

"ART. II. The enſuing Aſſembly of the States-General ſhall open at lateſt on the 1ſt of October next, in ſuch place as his Majeſty ſhall appoint in the Inſtructions.

"ART. III. The members of the preſent Aſſembly who remained ſitting at the end of the Royal Sitting, and who voted for the ſeditious Reſolutions then adopted, are declared ineligible for the enſuing Aſſembly, and for all thoſe that may be convened in future: for which purpoſe his Majeſty orders, that a liſt of the ſaid Deputies ſhall be publiſhed, with as little delay as poſſible, and ſent to all the Bailiwicks, to be hung up in the Hall appropriated to the elections.

"ART. IV. The King declares the ſaid Reſolutions null and void, and orders all the Deputies, of whatever Order, mentioned in the foregoing article, to depart from Verſailles in twenty-four hours at lateſt, and to repair to their reſpective Bailiwicks without paſſing through Paris. He expreſſly forbids them to aſſemble in any number, or at any place whatſoever; and all under pain of being taken up and tried for rebellion. He further orders, and under the ſame penalty, that thoſe Deputies, upon whoſe motions the ſaid Reſolutions were adopted, do quit the kingdom within eight days, forbidding them to re-enter it until further orders. His Majeſty enjoins all Military Commandants, Muni-

Municipal Officers, and Officers of Police, as well as the Commanders of the Maréchauſſée and their Lieutenants, to attend to the execution of the preſent Declaration."

The troops which were then at Verſailles, or in the neighbourhood, would have furniſhed force ſufficient to ſecure the execution of theſe orders, and to prevent commotions among the People, whoſe indignation, beſides, it would have been very eaſy to have turned againſt the ſeditious Deputies, by a letter from the King to all the Bailiwicks, to inform them of the circumſtances and motives of the diſſolution of the States-General. But, unfortunately, the diſobedience of the *Tiers-Etat* had not been foreſeen; and when the Marquis *de Brezé* gave the King an account of the anſwer with which he was charged, and of what was going on at the Aſſembly, his Majeſty, unwilling that the day in which he had given his ſubjects ſuch affecting proofs of his love ſhould be marked by any act of ſeverity, choſe rather to treat the conduct of the *Tiers-Etat* with ſcorn, than to puniſh it by a diſſolution of the States-General; and the Miniſters thought, no

doubt, that they were bound to reſpect that opinion.

The Aſſembly roſe of their own accord at three o'clock in the afternoon, after paſſing a Reſolution, that a Minute of its tranſactions ſhould be printed that day, in which they were diſhoneſt enough to report only the firſt Declaration, without taking any notice of the ſecond.

The people who crowded all the avenues to the Hall to a great diſtance, remained quiet while the Sitting laſted; but when the Deputies came out, the expreſſions of ſome of them paſſing from mouth to mouth produced ſuch a ferment, that an inſurrection againſt the Palace was apprehended. The mob moved to the Terrace, preſſing into the Courts, and even into the Palace itſelf, every where venting rage and imprecations at the report which had been ſpread, that Mr. *Necker* was, or was going to be, diſmiſſed *.

In the evening the Archbiſhop of Paris, paſſing in his carriage by the church of *St. Louis*, was pelted with ſtones by a large

* Mr. *Necker's* conduct on this day has been related in the Firſt Volume of my Private Memoirs, page 166.

groupe,

group, and had but juſt time to throw himſelf out of his coach into the church, the doors of which were immediately ſhut. His retreat was favoured by the French Guards, merely by their interfering, without either ſtriking or arreſting any of thoſe ruffians; one of whom ſaid, "We know that my Lord the Archbiſhop's perſon is ſacred and we have no objection to his perſon, only to his head." The motive or pretence given for this outrage was the abſurd ſuſpicion that it was the Archbiſhop who had ſuggeſted the idea of the Royal Sitting—a ſuſpicion founded ſolely uponthis prelate's aſſiduity in paying his court to the King.

CHAPTER V.

The Minority of the Clergy go over to the Tiers-Etat—The Archbiſhop of Paris compelled by freſh Outrages to promiſe that he would join the Aſſembly next Morning—An Anecdote which proves that Mr. Necker was no Stranger to the Commotions—The Minority of the Nobility, with the Duke of Orleans, go over to the Tiers-Etat—Deputation from the Electors of Paris and from the Patriots of the Caffé de Foi to the Tiers-Etat—Arrival of the Archbiſhop of Paris, and of the Biſhops of Autun and Orange at the Aſſembly—Reſolution, and Deputation of the Order of the Nobility—Letters from his Majeſty to the Preſidents of the two firſt Orders—A Letter from the

the Count d'Artois — M. de Cazalès's Opinion—The Majority of the Nobility go over to the Tiers-Etat.

ON the 24th of June the Orders of the Clergy and Nobility aſſembled each in its Chamber, in obedience to the command of the King, while the Deputies of the *Tiers-Etat* reſumed their Sitting in the Hall of the States.

Violent debates aroſe in the Chamber of the Clergy upon the queſtion, whether the King's command was to be obeyed; or whether the members ſhould join the *Tiers-Etat*.

At length, after a diſcuſſion of two hours, the Preſident collected the votes. The Aſſembly was compoſed of 294 members—for the junction there appeared 142, and againſt it 143. The remaining nine broached a third opinion, and obſtinately perſiſted in it, notwithſtanding it was repreſented to them, that, if they did not join one of the other two ſides, their votes could be of no avail, and would not be counted. The opinion, therefore, for conforming to the King's command, and proceeding to deliberate by Orders, had the majority. It was in a manner

ner doubly confirmed, by the votes having been taken by the two proviſional Secretaries, *Dillon* the clergyman of Pouzauges, and *Thibaut* the clergyman of Soupes, both well known for their Revolutionary ſentiments. The queſtion being thus ſettled according to the opinion of the majority, the Preſident (Cardinal *de la Rochefoucault*) pronounced the Reſolution, and broke up the Sitting, in ſpite of the loud remonſtrances of the minority, who maintained that the queſtion was not decided, and inſiſted on the votes being told again. The granting of this demand would have been out of all rule, unleſs all the members in the majority had conſented to it without exception; but far from appearing inclined to do ſo, they roſe from their places and left the Hall. As they went out, one of the minority, (*Coulmier*, the Abbé of Abbecour,) and one of the Uſhers of the Chamber of the Clergy, named *Oudelot*, ſtanding at the window over the door, pointed out to the People, with their fingers, thoſe who had given the ſtrongeſt oppoſition to the junction with the *Tiers Etat*. This geſture, more or leſs marked, was at once the ſignal and the *regulator* of the outrages offered them. Thoſe who

who had voted for the junction remained in the Hall, keeping with them the nine members whoſe votes had not been counted.

One of the chief members of the minority (the Archbiſhop of Bourdeaux) then pretended that the Aſſembly was not regularly broken up, as the majority of its members were ſtill ſitting; that that majority had an indiſputable right to continue the deliberation, which could not be conſidered as terminated, becauſe the refuſal of taking the votes again had deprived the nine Deputies whoſe votes had not been counted of the power of joining either ſide. As this reaſoning, which was more ſpecious than ſolid, was not refuted by any of the prelates who were preſent, it could not be expected from the inferior clergy; they therefore all agreed, that the deliberation might be continued, notwithſtanding the abſence of all the members whoſe opinion was really and very regularly that of the majority. The Archbiſhop of *Vienne* being requeſted to take the Preſident's chair, had the unpardonable weakneſs to conſent, and to preſide at the mock continuation of a Sitting regularly adjourned. The queſtion upon obeying the King's command was reſumed, and the

the nine members, whoſe votes had not been given, and could not then be legally taken, induced by the moſt inſidious arguments, and particularly by the dread of the menaces and violence of the mob, adopted the opinion of the minority; which, being haſtily drawn up in the form of a Reſolution, was ſigned by all preſent, and became their title of admiſſion into the Hall where the Deputies of the *Tiers-Etat* held their Sittings, and where they appeared, having at their head the Archbiſhops of *Vienne* and *Bourdeaux*, and carrying with them the Journals of their Chamber, either for the purpoſe of proving that they really formed the majority, or of preventing an entry being made in them, the next day, of the legal Reſolution, ſhowing that, far from being the majority of the Deputies of their Order, they were the minority, rebels and deſerters *. The 143 members who compoſed the

* The firſt care of the legal majority in the Sitting next day was to repair the loſs, or robbery, of their Journals; to enter the Reſolution that had been adopted before, on a new book, and to teſtify the illegality of the acts and conduct of the minority. The Reſolution taken on that occaſion, with the Minutes of the Sitting, and alſo

the real majority of the Clergy, being pointed out to the populace as public conſpirators, were expoſed to the moſt ſhocking outrages. The Archbiſhop of Paris was aſſaulted with ſtill greater violence than he had been the day before: the populace waiting for him at the door of the Chamber of the Clergy, beſieged his carriage, and poured forth menaces of the moſt bloody nature; which they would have executed, if the ſkill of his coachman, and the goodneſs of his horſes, had not ſaved him from a ſhower of ſtones, only one or two of which ſtruck him, and wounded him ſlightly in the face. In the evening the houſe of the Miſſion, where he lodged, was attacked by the people, who threw ſtones and broke the windows, calling out loudly for the head of the prelate. Detachments of the French, Swiſs, and Body Guards haſtened to his relief; but the multitude were not appeaſed till a Declaration was read to them, in which the Archbiſhop promiſed to join the *Tiers-Etat* next day.

alſo of thoſe that followed till the 27th of June incluſive, the real period of the junction of the Clergy with the *Tiers-Etat*, have been preſerved, and will one day be made public.

While

While the houſe of the Miſſion was thus beſet, the Count *de Barbançon*, a member of the Order of Nobility, and Commandant of Noyon, went to Mr. *Necker*, accompanied by two Deputies of that Municipality, to ſolicit an aid of money, intended for the purchaſe of peaſe and beans to ſupply the ſcarcity of corn experienced by that town. They were denied admiſſion, under pretence that Mr. *Necker* was ſhut up on buſineſs, and could ſee nobody. But as the wants of Noyon were very urgent, they went and informed the head-clerk, *Coſter*, of it, begging him to obtain them immediate attention. This clerk ſaid that demands of that nature muſt be made to the Miniſter himſelf, and that he would ſend a perſon with them to conduct them to Mr. *Necker*. They found him in a large parlour, with about ſixty perſons, who were not leſs diſconcerted than himſelf at their entrance. They there obſerved the moſt flaming Deputies of the *Tiers-Etat*, certain members of the minority of the Order of the Nobility, and ſome gentlemen and ladies of the Court, who compoſed the political and intriguing Coterie of *the Great Man*. The Miniſter advanced haſtily, and with

with an air extremely embarraſſed, towards the Deputies of Noyon, and aſked them what the object of their viſit was. *M. de Barbançon* told him, and preſſed him warmly to grant Noyon an aid of 6000 livres. "I will give an order for it immediately," replied he: "do you want any thing elſe?" *M. de Barbançon* requeſted that the ſum might be in gold, that the Deputies, who were going to ſet out with it, might carry it with more eaſe; upon which the order for its being paid in gold was given to the clerk who accompanied them. At that inſtant a young man entered the room, his hair diſhevelled, and his boſom all open, crying like a madman, "*Bravo! bravo! bravo!*—we have juſt made the Archbiſhop of Paris promiſe to join the Order of the *Tiers-Etat* to-morrow." The preſence of the Deputies of Noyon at the familiar entry of this emiſſary from the populace, increaſed Mr. *Necker's* embarraſſment to an extreme degree. This circumſtance, however, is not ſufficient to prove, what was believed at the time, that he was the ſecret inſtigator of the outrages committed upon the Archbiſhop; yet this popular Committee aſſembled at his houſe, and the eaſy and ſudden

ſudden introduction of the Deputy from the mob, at a moment when his door was open only to his intimates, make it no raſh conjecture, that, if he did not adviſe or approve the outrages in queſtion, no doubt was entertained by the perpetrators, but that the reſult of them would be highly agreeable to him; and *M. de Barbançon*, after having been a witneſs to the pleaſure which the news ſpread among the perſons who were then with the Miniſter, called on the Baron *de Juigné*, brother of the Archbiſhop of Paris, and offered to make a formal declaration of it.

The Aſſembly of the Order of the Nobility was much leſs tumultuous than that of the Clergy had been. The debates upon the Declarations of the King were carried on peaceably, yet without coming to any determination. The Chamber remained divided into two parties, the more numerous of which, being that which was for maintaining the deliberation by ſeparate Orders even on the verification of the powers, experienced no loſs; and in this Sitting none of the members of the oppoſite party left the Order.

In the Chamber of the *Tiers-Etat* no

more mention was made of the Royal Sitting than if it had never taken place; all was, no doubt, judged to be over, in regard to that, from the Reſolutions which had been adopted the day before, and which, from the inaction and ſilence of the Council, might be conſidered as tacitly acquieſced in. The Aſſembly were murmuring loudly at the military train with which the Hall was ſurrounded; but the violent declamations in which they indulged on that occaſion were ſuſpended by the reading of a letter which *M. Bailly* received from Mr. *Necker*. The addreſs and ſtyle of it were ſo profoundly, ſo humbly reſpectful, that ſeveral members of the Aſſembly could not refrain from ſhrugging their ſhoulders in indignation or pity: ſo true it is, that the homage which degrades *him* who gives, can never honour *him* who receives it. But Mr. *Necker*, whom the *Tiers-Etat* had been flattering beyond all meaſure for four-and-twenty hours, no doubt thought himſelf bound alſo to flatter them in his turn, and the following letter diſcharged this debt:

" Mr. Preſident, I received on the part of the Order in which you preſide *ſuch affecting marks of kindneſs and eſteem*, that I

beg of you without delay to have the goodneſs to become, on this occaſion, the interpreter of my profound gratitude. To merit the ſentiments with which your Order has the goodneſs to honour me, I muſt redouble my zeal for the Public, and my devotion for the King. How delightful will it be to diſcharge this obligation! Happy ſhould I be if my ability were equal to my intentions! I could wiſh that the purity of my heart, and the integrity of my views, might be my title to the confidence of which I yeſterday received the moſt pleaſing demonſtrations, and which I would only make uſe of to promote with all my power the re-eſtabliſhment of a concord, which becomes daily more neceſſary and more urgent, and which would reſtore to the King his tranquillity, and to the Kingdom all its energy. I have the honour to be, with the moſt reſpectful attachment, &c."

Thus it was that Mr. *Necker*, madly intoxicated with the credit he thought his ſituation preparing for him, forgot the Royal Sitting, and did not perceive that, by concurring in this manner to annul the effect of that grand procedure, which he had himſelf adviſed and directed, he became the moſt

moſt guilty accomplice in the debaſement of the Miniſtry, and in the abſolute deſtruction of the Royal authority. With leſs vanity, and with more knowledge of hiſtory and of mankind, he would not have been ſo fooliſhly the dupe of the nauſeous adulation and groſs incenſe laviſhed upon him, which he conſidered as the juſt reward of his virtues; but he would have ſeen that the hopes and love of the People were directed ſolely towards him, in order to divert them from the Throne, the foundations of which were to be ſapped. The authors of our fatal Revolution were too ſkilful not to know, that in all thoſe in which the People are made the inſtrument, the violent paſſions muſt be ſupplied with an idol and victims. Mr. *Necker* was here the idol, which was pulled down and broken when no longer wanted: the Royal Family, the Clergy, and the Nobility, were the victims.

Mr. *Necker's* letter produced the effect he promiſed himſelf upon the majority of the Aſſembly: all his plans were attended with the greateſt applauſe.

The hundred and fifty-one deſerters from the Clergy entered the Hall at this moment, attended by their Uſher, who took a place

among thoſe of the *Tiers-Etat*. The moment they appeared, "*Vive le Roi!*" reſounded through the Hall; a very extraordinary mode, ſurely, of honouring the readineſs of this diviſion of the Clergy in ſetting the example of diſobedience to the orders of his Majeſty.

When they had all taken their places, in order to know their exact number their names were called over; which engaged a great deal of time, as every name was followed by long applauſes, which were redoubled with rapture at thoſe of the four or five prelates who figured in this too memorable liſt. The Aſſembly could not do honour enough to the Archbiſhop of *Vienne*; but not being able to beſtow the chief place upon him, yet unwilling that he ſhould remain undiſtinguiſhed in the crowd of Deputies, they ſeated him at the Preſident's right hand.

On the next day, June 25, the minority of the Nobility, conſiſting of 44 members, among whom was the Duke of *Orleans*, joined the *Tiers-Etat*, and were received with the ſame raptures as the Deputies of the Clergy had been the day before—with this

this difference, that the cry of—"*Vive le Roi!*" was preceded by the cry of—"*Vive la Patrie!*"—(Long live the Country!) in honour of each Deputy as he entered; but when the Duke of *Orleans* appeared, nothing was heard but—"*Vive M. le Duc d'Orleans!*"—(Long live the Duke of *Orleans!*)

Theſe noiſy acclamations having reached the ears of the populace who were about the Hall, ſoon wound up their curioſity to ſee what was paſſing, to ſuch a pitch of fury, that they forced by the outer guard, and beſet the doors of the Hall, which they were threatening to break open, when the Aſſembly, appriſed of their proceeding, deputed *M. Bailly*, in his capacity of Preſident, accompanied by the Archbiſhop of *Vienne* and *M. de Clermont Tonnerre*, to go and appeaſe them. He begged them very politely to retire, aſſuring them, that, agreeably to a Reſolution juſt adopted by the Aſſembly, a Deputation was going to be ſent to the King, to demand a free acceſs to the Hall, and that very likely the doors would be thrown open to-morrow to the People—meaning to *the populace;* for, previous to this, notwithſtanding the expreſs orders

given to the ſentinels placed at the door of the States, not to ſuffer ſtrangers to go in, the ſoldiers only aſked whoever came, whether they were Deputies or not? This queſtion was put in a loud voice, but the ſentinel who put it, at the ſame time whiſpered the perſons to ſay *Yes;* ſo that this pretended ſtrictneſs conſiſted in keeping out of the Hall ſuch perſons as were too ſhabbily dreſſed to be miſtaken for Deputies.

M. Bailly's promiſes appeaſed the populace; and tranquillity being completely reſtored, the three Delegates from the Aſſembly returned to their places, and *M. de Clermont Tonnerre* delivered a ſpeech on the junction of the minority of the Nobility with the *Tiers-Etat.* "Long ere this," ſaid he, "ſhould we have yielded to the dictates of our conſciences, and to the impulſe of the patriotiſm which animates us as well as you, had we not been reſtrained, and in a manner fettered, by imperative inſtructions. Our ſatisfaction would be complete, were it not diſturbed by the pain we feel on being ſeparated from thoſe who, although detained by expreſs directions and a rigorous oath, are already in heart and mind united to the National Aſſembly. We ſhall

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doubtleſs have the happineſs of ſeeing them ſhortly amongſt us: their Conſtituents will yield to the goodneſs and juſtneſs of their reaſons, and comply with the wiſhes and deſires of their worthy Repreſentatives, who, on receiving new inſtructions, will haſten to unite in the general Hall."

This drew a reply from *M. Bailly* in the following terms:—"Gentlemen, your preſence ſpreads conſolation and joy here. We ſaid, on receiving the Deputies of the Clergy, that we ſtill had wiſhes to form; that brothers were ſtill wanting to this auguſt family: theſe wiſhes have been gratified almoſt as ſoon as formed. We ſee an illuſtrious Prince, an impreſſive and reſpectable part of the French Nobility; we give a looſe to the joy of receiving them, and to the hope of ſeeing the whole of that Nobility joining them here. Yes, Gentlemen, what is miſſing will be reſtored to us; all our brethren will come hither;—it is reaſon and juſtice, and the intereſt of their Country that call them, and that aſſure us of their coming. Let us labour together in the regeneration of the Kingdom, and for the comfort of the People. We will bear truth to the foot of the Throne, and her voice will be

heard by a King, whoſe piety may be deceived, but whoſe intentions are juſt and whoſe goodneſs is unalterable; by a King, who deſires the union that has now taken place, and who will ever be the father of his people."

Theſe ſpeeches were heard, not only with the greateſt attention, but with the moſt lively emotion. The Aſſembly then proceeded to nominate the Deputation to be ſent that very evening to ſolicit the King that the doors of the Hall might be opened to the Public; and it is to be remarked, that this Deputation was compoſed of ſix Eccleſiaſtics, ſix members of the Order of the Nobility, and twelve of the *Tiers-Etat.*

When the tranſports of joy which had been excited by the junction of the minority of the Nobility were a little abated, it was obſerved, that the deſertion of 44 out of 300 could not be conſidered as any mighty triumph; and the Commons, wondering that ſome others on whom they had depended, eſpecially *M. de la Fayette*, had not yet appeared, inquired the reaſon from thoſe who had joined; who in their juſtification ſaid, that they only remained in their Chamber with the hope of ſoon bringing the

the whole over to the common centre of the National Repreſentation.

In the midſt of all theſe ſucceſſes, the *Tiers-Etat* ſtill remained diſtruſtful and uneaſy. They pretended, and ſpread abroad, that though the King was obliged to continue Mr. *Necker* in the Miniſtry, he did not co-operate with him, but gave his whole confidence to the ARISTOCRATS. This fatal word, which has ſince been the ſignal for ſo many crimes, became from that moment, throughout France, the cry for conſpiring againſt all who did not profeſs the blindeſt devotion and an unbounded deference to the will and pretenſions of the *Tiers-Etat*, who were thus themſelves exerciſing the moſt tyrannical ariſtocracy againſt all who continued attached to the Monarchy and to the King.

One of the ſureſt means of inflaming the People, and of leading them into every exceſs, is to ſet abroad ſome phraſe, or words which they do not underſtand; for they attach ideas of their own to them, and never fail to ſelect ſuch as are moſt caculated to hurry them into the direction intended. Thus it was, that when the Clergy and Nobility, who were to be rendered odious,

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were once described to them under the name of *Aristocrats*, they never inquired, nor do they know to this day, the real meaning of that word. All they understood was, that an *Aristocrat* was the being most to be detested by them; and it was immediately supposed by each individual, that the vices or crimes most abhorred by himself were inherent in Aristocrats *.

By this time the troops had adopted the unmeaning cry of—"*Vive la Nation!*"—(Long live the Nation!) Its peace and prosperity were certainly in great danger; but the only danger it had to fear for its life, or rather for the lives of some of its members, sprung from the fury of those who were the loudest in roaring "*Vive la Nation!*"—At Paris and Versailles, the French Guards and the soldiers of the Swiss regiments were seen living on the most familiar footing with the townsmen. They mixed in parties,

* I once asked a shoemaker, who was a Royalist, what an Aristocrat was? He answered—"*A man who does not love our good King!*" Another mechanic, of a religious disposition, to whom I put the same question, told me—*that an Aristocrat did not believe in God!* A third said—*that Aristocrats were Devils of Hell, who wished to starve the poor!*

holding

holding each other by the arm in the public walks, and at the coffee-houſes and taverns, where they partook of ſumptuous entertainments, at which the ſoldiers were never behind-hand in crying—"*Vive la Nation!—We know no orders but thoſe of the Nation!*"

The Electors of the *Tiers-Etat* of Paris, who pretended to inſtitute themſelves into another political body, although the commiſſion for which they had been empowered to aſſemble was fully diſcharged, went to the *Prévôt des Marchands* *, and requeſted to have one of the Halls in the Town-houſe; to which he at firſt objected, but in the end conſented.

The firſt ſubject on which they debated

* The *Prévôts des Marchands* were officers of the higheſt antiquity. Their juriſdiction extended over the revenues of the *Hotel de Ville*, the quays and wharfs of the river, &c. In 1357 they purchaſed, in conjunction with the *Echevins* or Municipal Magiſtrates, the houſe where in ancient times the Dauphins reſided, called *Maiſon de Grève*, which gave the name of *Place de Grève* to the area on which it ſtands; and on the ſite of that and ſome others round it they afterwards built the *Hotel de Ville* or Town-Houſe. The Prévôt was appointed by the King, ſometimes for two years, or renewed every year at his pleaſure.

was the appointment of a Deputation, consisting of twenty of them, to go and compliment the Assembly upon their having constituted themselves a National Assembly. The inference from this strange compliment, as it was addressed only to the Deputies who had violated, or at least exceeded, their instructions, was, that those who had remained faithful to the intentions of their constituents deserved to be condemned.

This Deputation, evidently illegal, was admitted with the greatest ardour as soon as it appeared. It had the merit of being the first that had ever been sent to the Assembly, whom its leader addressed in the following Speech:

"The Assembly of the Electors of the *Tiers-Etat* of the city of Paris, penetrated with respect and gratitude for the wise, firm, and patriotic conduct of the National Assembly, seize the first moment of their union after so many ineffectual efforts, to express to them their feelings on the occasion, and to declare that they will invariably abide by the Resolutions of the National Assembly, and particularly by that of the 17th of this month. They will at all times, and in all circumstances, support the design of it:—

they will ever keep in remembrance the names of the Clergy and of the Nobility who have joined the National Aſſembly."

The Aſſembly, convinced that a coalition with the *Tiers-Etat* of the capital could not but increaſe and conſolidate their own power, received the Deputies in the moſt honourable manner. The Preſident invited them within the bar, and benches were immediately placed between thoſe of the Clergy and Nobility, on which they ſeated themſelves.

Theſe details may appear minute; but they are eſſential in tracing the progreſs of the diſorganization of the Government, and of the developement of the Revolution.

Soon after the Electors of Paris were ſeated, another Deputation was announced from the majority of the Nobility. It was long debated whether this Deputation ſhould be received or not; and it was at length agreed to, againſt the opinion of *M. Bailly* and Count *Mirabeau;* the former maintaining, that from the manner in which the Aſſembly was formed they could not receive ſuch a Deputation; which was as much as to ſay, that, being conſtituted the National Aſſembly, they could not ſuffer themſelves

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to be addreſſed by the title of the *Tiers-Etat;* the latter arguing, that the Deputies were unqualified, and could not even be conſidered as Deputies of Bailiwicks, the verification of their powers being illegal.

The ſubject of the Deputation was thus announced by their Speaker:— "Gentlemen, we have the honour of being commiſſioned by the Order of the Nobility to communicate to you a Reſolution adopted by them yeſterday. From their eagerneſs to abide by the King's firſt declaration you will ſee the conciliatory ſpirit by which they are animated, and their anxiety for a return among the three Orders of that harmony which ought never to be impaired among Frenchmen, and without which it is impoſſible to promote the welfare of the State, that firſt duty of every good citizen."

Having ſaid this, the Speaker read the Reſolution to which he had alluded; the ſubſtance of which was, that the Nobility fully adopted the arrangements contained in the King's firſt Declaration.

M. Bailly's anſwer, which had been previouſly dictated by the Aſſembly, was as follows: "Gentlemen, I am inſtructed by the National Aſſembly to tell you, that they can

cannot but receive you as Noble Deputies not yet united; as gentlemen, fellow-citizens, and brothers. They have the more readily concurred in admitting you, as they are anxious you ſhould witneſs their unceaſing deſire for your union with this auguſt Aſſembly, and of which you ſeem to give us hopes."

To this Deputation ſucceeded another commiſſioned to preſent an Addreſs to the Aſſembly, ſigned at a coffee-houſe (*the Caffé de Foi*) by all the coffee-houſe loungers at the *Palais Royal*, to the number of about three thouſand, and entitled "A Letter from the Deputies of the three Orders of Paris."

This Deputation, irregular as it was, was eagerly admitted, and received with acclamation. Their leader contented himſelf with reading the letter, which was addreſſed to *M. Bailly*, and only contained the ſame felicitations and compliments as had been addreſſed to the Aſſembly by the Deputation of the Electors.

To this *M. Bailly* made the following reply: "Gentlemen, although you are not ſent by an Aſſembly regularly convened, the National Aſſembly thought they might admit you. They thank the citizens of Paris for

for the teſtimonies of their ſatisfaction. You witneſs, Gentlemen, the union which reigns in this Aſſembly; you know our zeal, and you may inform the capital, that we are about to labour with ardour for the public good: but the Aſſembly think it their duty to requeſt the citizens of Paris to prevent the agitation that might ariſe among the people, and urge them to conſider peace as the firſt means neceſſary to the labours of the National Aſſembly, and the regeneration of the Kingdom." Thus every inſtant was cemented the coalition of the Aſſembly with the citizens of the capital, of whatever claſs they were.

On the ſame day the number of the Clergy was increaſed by the acquiſition of two more prelates, the Biſhops *d'Autun* and *d'Orange*. They were ſoon followed by the Archbiſhop of *Paris*, conducted by the Archbiſhop of *Bourdeaux*. Although he was expected, his air of reſignation, and the marks that were ſtill thought viſible in his countenance of the outrages he had received the two preceding days, affected the whole Aſſembly. Benedictions were heaped upon him; which brought tears into his eyes, and ſo moved him, that he could ſcarcely articulate

late the following words: "Gentlemen, the love of peace leads me this day into the midſt of this auguſt Aſſembly;—allow me to expreſs my ſincere devotion to my Country, my King, and the good of the People. I ſhould eſteem myſelf happy if even at the expence of my life I could contribute to ſo deſirable a conciliation, for which I ſhall ever pray."

M. Bailly replied, that this act of peace and union was the only crown wanting to his virtues; then turning to the Deputies of the *Caffé de Foi*, who had obtained the honours of the Sitting, he ſaid to them—"With the moſt lively joy do we this day ſee your worthy Archbiſhop taking his ſeat in the Aſſembly."

At this Sitting was alſo read the ſpeech which *Target* had compoſed for the Deputation that were to wait upon the King, to ſolicit that the doors of the Hall might be opened to the Public. The harangue was found ſo ridiculouſly bombaſtic, that another was ordered to be drawn up by perſons appointed; which prevented the Deputation from taking place the ſame day, as *M. Bailly* had promiſed the populace. This had a very ill effect; for the Pariſians, hear-

ing no more mention made of it, and ignorant of the motives of the delay, imagined that the petition had been preſented to the King, and that he had refuſed to receive it. The arrival of another regiment at Verſailles confirmed this opinion, and increaſed the diſcontent and murmurs. At the ſame time the perſeverance of the majority of the Order of the Nobility and of the one half of the Deputies of the Clergy in their reſolution of not joining the *Tiers-Etat*, was attributed to the inſtigations of the Court. In a word, every thing conſpired to render the King's ſituation hourly more embarraſſing and more dangerous. The Miniſters met frequently, but without coming to any determination, or adopting any plan. In the evening of the 26th their Committee had continued long ſitting, and yet at ſeven o'clock next morning they held another at the Palace, to which *Monſieur* and the Count *d'Artois* were ſummoned. Scarcely were they arrived when the Duke of *Luxembourg*, Preſident of the Nobility, appeared in the name of his Order, and demanded an audience of the King. He was introduced, and preſented to his Majeſty the Reſolution which the Order of the Nobility had

had adopted the day before, and which they had ſent to the *Tiers-Etat* by the Deputation named for that purpoſe. The Reſolution was conceived in theſe terms:

" The Order of the Nobility, eager to give the King every mark of their love and reſpect; impreſſed with gratitude for the perſevering care his Majeſty deigns to take to effect a deſirable harmony among the Orders; conſidering of what conſequence it is that the Nation ſhould enjoy, without delay, the great benefits of the Conſtitution pointed out in the ſecond Declaration of the King's intentions, read at the Sitting of the 23d inſtant; impelled alſo by their deſire of being able to liquidate the public debt, and to realize the dereliction of their pecuniary privileges, as ſoon as the eſtabliſhment of a conſtitutional baſis ſhall permit them to deliberate upon thoſe ſubjects, in which they deem the National honour as well as the deareſt wiſhes of their Conſtituents to be concerned, do, notwithſtanding the form of the ſaid Sitting, during the term of the preſent States-General, and provided no precedent be drawn from it for the future, accept and have accepted, purely and ſimply and without any reſerve, the propoſitions com-

priſed in the Fifteen Articles of the King's firſt Declaration, read at the Sitting of the 23d inſtant. Accordingly, and in order to execute the Fifth Article of the ſaid Declaration, they have reſolved, that his Majeſty ſhall be prayed to convene the Nobility of the Bailiwicks, by whoſe peremptory inſtructions the Deputies may hold themſelves bound, in order that they may receive freſh inſtructions from their Conſtituents, and as ſoon as poſſible take into conſideration, in the form preſcribed by the King, the Articles compriſed in the ſecond Declaration of his Majeſty's intentions, which the Order of the Nobility conſider as a moſt affecting pledge of his juſtice, and of his love for the people."

After the King had read this Reſolution, he thus addreſſed the Duke of *Luxembourg*: "From the fidelity and affection of the "Order of which you are Preſident, I ex- "pect its union with the other two. I have "reflected upon it," ſaid he firmly, "and "am determined to make every ſacrifice, "*rather than that a ſingle man ſhould pe-* "*riſh on my account.* Tell the Order of "the Nobility, therefore, that I entreat them "to join the other two Orders. If this be

"not

" not enough, I command them to do it as " their King—it is my will. If there be " one of its members who believes himſelf " bound by his inſtructions, his oath, or " his honour, to remain in the Chamber, " let me know: I will go and ſit by him, " and die with him if it be neceſſary."

The Cardinal *de la Rochefoucault*, the Preſident of the Clergy, the Archbiſhop of *Rheims*, and the Archbiſhop of *Aix*, had been ſent for by the King on the ſame ſubject. His Majeſty told them, in the firſt place, that the troops had revolted, and that he was under the neceſſity of yielding to the wiſhes of the *Tiers-Etat*. " The troops revolted, Sire!" exclaimed the Archbiſhop of *Aix*. " When, and where? Is it the *Gardes-du-Corps*, or the *Swiſs?* Your Majeſty knew nothing of it yeſterday! Is it the work of a day—of a moment? The troops revolted, and your Majeſty not know it before to-day! Have the Commanders and Officers been all ignorant of it, or are they in the plot? Have they all betrayed their King? No, Sire, this is not poſſible! this cannot be true!—Your Majeſty is now deceived, or you have been deceived for three

months." The King, ſtaggered and perplexed, went with the Deputies of the Clergy into another apartment, where they found the Queen, *Monſieur*, the Count *d'Artois*, the Duke of *Luxembourg*, and the Prince *de Croui*. The Archbiſhop of *Aix* continued the ſame train of reflections:—"Yes, Sire!—Yes, Madam!" ſaid he to their Majeſties, "you are deceived in order "that you may be induced to yield. The "double repreſentation has been given to the "*Tiers-Etat*, that they may have double "votes—and that not only for ſome parti-"cular objects, but for all. Your Ma-"jeſty's Declaration marks diſtinctions that "will not be admitted. It is careful of "the intereſts of the King, of the Clergy, "and of the Nobility; but, Sire, the in-"tention is to annihilate the Orders, and "with them the Royal authority muſt "fall."

At the concluſion of this conference the King ſaid that he would ſend his anſwer; and on the ſame morning his Majeſty addreſſed copies of the following Letter to the Cardinal *de la Rochefoucault* and the Duke of *Luxembourg*:

"My

"MY COUSIN,

"Solely engaged in providing for the general welfare of my Kingdom, but particularly anxious that the Aſſembly of the States-General ſhould proceed to the objects which intereſt the Nation, according to the voluntary acceptance of my Declaration of the 23d of this month, I urge my loyal Nobility * to join the other Orders without delay, to accelerate the accompliſhment of my paternal intentions. Thoſe who are reſtricted in their powers may do ſo without voting, till they ſhall have received freſh ones. This will be another mark given to me by the Nobility of their attachment; for which, my Couſin, I pray God to keep you under his holy protection."

On the ſame day a regulation of the Council was made and publiſhed, authorizing the Deputies who thought themſelves reſtricted by their inſtructions to apply to their Conſtituents for new ones, and ſettling the form in which ſuch applications ſhould be made.

However, the Order of the Nobility, in their deliberation on the King's letter and

* In the Copy ſent to the Cardinal, the words here were "my faithful Clergy."

on the anſwer made by his Majeſty to the Duke of *Luxembourg*, were much divided in opinion. More than eighty of them, foreſeeing how fatal the union of the three Orders and the voting individually, which was an inevitable conſequence of it, would be to the King and to the State, perſiſted in the reſolution of remaining in their Chamber, agreeably to the Declaration of the 23d of June. In the midſt of theſe debates the Marquis *de La Queuille* was ſeen reading with emotion a letter he had juſt received, and converſing very warmly with thoſe who ſtood near him. The letter was from the Count *d'Artois*, moſt ſtrongly urging the Nobility not to poſtpone their union with the Order of the *Tiers-Etat*, and hinting that his Royal Highneſs knew to a certainty that a longer reſiſtance would endanger the King's life. The moment theſe words were heard, the Count de *St. Simon*, putting his hand to his ſword, cried out—"Gentlemen, "the King is in danger! Let us fly to the "Palace! our place is about his Majeſty!" "If the Monarch be in danger," obſerved *M. de Cazalès*, "the Monarchy is in danger "too; to ſave the Monarchy is our firſt "duty, and we will then go and form a "rampart of our bodies around the King."

On this exclamation the debate was about to be renewed; when the Duke of *Luxembourg* roſe haſtily, notwithſtanding the remonſtrances of many members of the Aſſembly, and broke up the Sitting, crying out—"There is now no room for debate: Gentlemen, the King's perſon is in danger, and who amongſt us will heſitate an inſtant?" Theſe words went to every heart; nothing was thought of but the danger which threatened the King, and they ran immediately to the Hall where the other Deputies were united. The ſame reſolution was adopted without heſitation by the members of the Clergy.

When they entered the Hall there were very few either of the Deputies or ſtrangers remaining. Each Order having taken its place, the Cardinal *de la Rochefoucault*, as Preſident of the Clergy, ſaid—"We are led hither by our love and reſpect for the King, our ſolicitude for the Country, and our zeal for the public good." The Duke of *Luxembourg* announced the union of the majority of the Nobility by ſaying—"Gentlemen, the Order of the Nobility reſolved this morning to repair to the National Hall, as a mark of their reſpect for the King, and

and as a proof to the Nation of their patriotism."

M. Bailly replied to both Orders in the following words: "Gentlemen, the happiness of this day, which unites the three Orders, is such, that excessive joy disables me from answering you as it deserves; but this joy is itself an answer. The Order of the Clergy was already with us, and now the Order of the Nobility joins us. This day shall be entered among the celebrations of our calendar; it completes our family; it for ever puts an end to the dissensions which have mutually afflicted us; it accomplishes the wish of the King: and the National Assembly, or rather *the States-General*, will now proceed without confusion or interruption to the regeneration of the Kingdom and of public happiness."

These expressions of peace and brotherly union were heard with delight. The Order of the *Tiers-Etat*, composing alone the *National Assembly*, and exercising exclusively the supreme power, which they had attached to that title, abdicated both, by admitting themselves to be no more than a portion of the *States-General;* and although *M. Bailly* had not been formally authorized by his

his colleagues to make that abdication, they certainly would not have disavowed it; and it would have become irrevocable, if the two other Orders had insisted upon it as an essential condition of their union: but they took no notice whatever of it. By their silence it might have been suspected, that all agreed to prefer the title of National Assembly to that of States-General: but the suspicion would have been unjust, as the Clergy, ever since the 27th of June, had in a former Protest insisted on maintaining the distinction of the three Orders. That Protest was openly presented to the Assembly by the Cardinal *de la Rochefoucault*, was read aloud, delivered to *M. Bailly*, and received without opposition. The Archbishop of Vienne, speaking in the name of the Ecclesiastical Deputies who had first joined the *Tiers-Etat*, declared, that they did not concur in it; and *Mirabeau* taking it up read it, argued against it with a tone and gestures of the greatest contempt, and threw it on the table.

The Abbé *de Montesquiou*, far less convinced than dazzled by *Mirabeau's* speech, unfortunately spoke as Agent of the Clergy, and in an embarrassed manner owned and retracted

retracted the pretended error, which he said a new light had now dispelled. On this the Archbishop of *Aix*, impelled by his zeal for the honour of the Clergy, and for the preservation of their principles, addressed the Assembly in the following terms:

"Gentlemen, we have assembled in the Common Hall, in conformity to the King's Declaration *. In complying with arrangements, we do not relinquish principles. By yielding on some points we do not mean to infringe others. The Orders may be united without being confounded. We may consent to deliberate in common upon objects in common, without renouncing the right that belongs to us of deliberating in Orders. We yield to the King's desire, which is founded upon *the voluntary acceptance of his Declaration by the Order of the Clergy* †. We lay before you the Resolutions we adopted previously to our joining you. We refer to the first

* The King's Declaration in the Royal Sitting of June 23, 1789.

† The King's Letter to the Cardinal *de la Rochefoucault*, President of the Order of the Clergy, dated June 27, 1789.

Article

Article of the King's Declaration, by which *his Majesty desires that the ancient distinction of the three Orders of the State should be fully preserved, as essential to the constitution of his Kingdom**. We refer to the eighth Article, by which *he excepts such objects as cannot be discussed in common, those which relate to the ancient and constitutional rights of the three Orders, the form to be given to the next States-General, feudal and seigneurial property, ecclesiastical dues, and the honorary prerogatives of the two first Orders*†. We refer to the ninth Article, by which it is declared, *that the special consent of the Clergy is necessary in all discussions in which religion, ecclesiastical discipline, or the system of the Ecclesiastical Orders and of the secular and regular Societies might be concerned*‡. We do not protest against deliberating conformably to these arrangements, because it is in conformity with these very arrangements *that we reserve the right belonging to the Clergy, according to the con-*

* The King's Declaration of June 23, 1789.

† Idem.

‡ The King's Declaration of June 23.

stituent

*ſtituent laws of the Monarchy, of aſſembling and voting ſeparately**. We may even obſerve, that the part of the Clergy who left us, made *a reſervation of the diſtinction of the Orders, and other reſervations of rights*†. We are not foes to harmony and union among the Orders, when we challenge their rights, and when we make uſe of the very rights we challenge to unite with you. We may make uſe of them to concur in the views of conciliation which the King has expreſſed to us; *but we neither can nor will relinquiſh them*‡. This is the ſubſtance of the Proteſt we have delivered to you; and if it be a crime, it is to be imputed to our predeceſſors for eight hundred years paſt§: it is to be imputed to the Conſtitution of the State itſelf, which the King is bound to maintain as well as we, and which is not to be deſtroyed by the oppoſition of one Order.

* Reſolution of the Order of the Clergy of June 27.

† Reſolution of a part of the members of the Clergy, of June 19.

‡ Reſolution of the Order of the Clergy of June 27.

§ Diſtinction of the Orders, under *Charlemagne*. See *Hincmar*.

" You

" You are not to imagine, Gentlemen, that the diſtinction of the Orders was eſtabliſhed and maintained for the advantage of the two firſt. It is of importance to the *Tiers-Etat*, as well as to the Nobility and Clergy. The ſame rights and powers are exerciſed by each Order, and it is upon juſt and eſſential reaſons that this diſtinction is founded, for its principle is in the welfare of the People. It ariſes from no particular title, nor is it derived from any period of time. It is not a tranſient law, but it is that law of reaſon which adjuſts rights to intereſts, and which ought to purſue the vanity of them. When firſt towns became free, and were privileged from all dominion but that of the Sovereign, they directed their own affairs. They had their own expences to bear; they exerciſed the right of conſenting to their contributions; they appointed Deputies and Repreſentatives, and formed an Order in the Nation. The Lords of Manors were at that time, by the nature of their poſſeſſions, the natural and neceſſary Repreſentatives of their vaſſals. In the States-General they were perſonally, as they now are, by their Deputies, and as they ſtill are individually in the Elective Aſſemblies,

the protectors of the intereſts of their vaſſals, of thoſe of the landed property, and of half the kingdom. The caſe was the ſame with the Clergy, who are appointed to be the teachers and miniſters of religion, which forms the common intereſt of every claſs of citizens, and who are poſſeſſors of eſtates which give them a ſhare in all the intereſts of the lands. Theſe are the titles that are ſuperior to all privileges, the titles which confer powers on the two firſt Orders, by aſſociating them for the welfare of the Nation at large. No ſingle Order can arrogate the right of deſtroying the titles of the other two; a right which it partakes with them. It is only together, and with the King's approbation, that the Orders can, I will not ſay overthrow, but make the ſlighteſt alteration in the conſtitution. Nothing can be done lawfully but by the laws themſelves. They muſt direct and juſtify the meaſures to be taken for their reform. They muſt regulate the changes to be made in themſelves, and the laws declare, *that the opinion of one Order cannot bind another; that the opinion of two Orders cannot injure or affect the third.* We are in the preſence of each other;—we may communicate our ſentiments

dif-

at liberty, and reap all the advantages of discuſſion. Is it when the Orders are united that they are to be more divided than ever? Can you imagine that the Reſolution of one Order alone, in which the other two had neither concurred nor been conſulted, is to overthrow all their principles, and deſtroy all their powers? The only queſtion that has been yet diſcuſſed is that on the verification of the powers. Why cannot this queſtion be examined and argued with temper? Why muſt the people aſſemble, all the citizens be in motion, diſcord enter into every ſociety, and the peace of the capital be diſturbed? I know not what projects and changes are preparing, though the earth ſeems to quake beneath our feet. Is this Common Hall then no longer what it ought to be, a common centre of mutual conference and information, but an abyſs deſtined for our deſtruction? How could the People of themſelves be ſenſible of the great importance of this queſtion, or rather of that of its intended conſequences? It relates to no tax, to none of the heavy duties by which men can be oppreſſed, nor to any of thoſe intereſts by which the People can be affected. This queſtion in itſelf no way

concerns them; and the utmoſt extent to which it can be carried only relates to forms of Government, which may and which ſhould engage the attention of well-informed men, but which cannot be either known or decided by the multitude. By what motives can they be excited when there is no queſtion of an object which they can either comprehend or be intereſted in? It is well known what mobs have aſſembled at the door of the Clergy's Chamber for this week paſt. Murmurs have been inceſſantly echoed around the Eccleſiaſtical Deputies. Some have been inſulted. Why are not theſe miſguided people, who are open to every alarm, better inſtructed? Let them be told the truth—let them be thus addreſſed: 'Your ſafety, liberty, and property, are 'not here concerned. Thoſe are our com-'mon intereſts, on which you need not 'fear that any diſpute will riſe amongſt us; 'and when thoſe rights, which are alſo the 'rights of the members of the two firſt Or-'ders, ſhall be ſecured by the concurrence of 'the three Orders, and of the King, of what 'importance to you are diſcuſſions and diſ-'tinctions, which cannot affect you? Go 'home to your families, and do not meet

'in public in this manner, to give your-
'selves up to groundleſs fears. What you
'have to fear is the exciting of commo-
'tions among you. Do not injure your
'hopes by diſorder, but enjoy in peace the
'fruits of your uſeful labours, and reſpect
'the freedom of the votes of your Repre-
'ſentatives.' This is the language we ſhould ſpeak to the People: we muſt tranquilliſe them by our harmony, and not excite them to inſurrection by our ſtrife; and if we do not reſtrain their firſt movements, who amongſt us can foreſee where they will end? This is one of the firſt ſubjects we ſhould take into conſideration, if you wiſh to unite the Orders, and not to deſtroy them, if you wiſh to improve the Conſtitution by reforming abuſes. We expreſs to you the real inclinations of the Order of the Clergy. Whatever may happen, we ſhall not have to reproach ourſelves with having abandoned the principles of the Conſtitution, or neglected the means of reconciling them with the King's intentions and the reſtoration of public tranquillity."

The conduct of the Order of the Nobility on this occaſion was not leſs worthy of praiſe. They returned to their own Hall

the day after the union of the three Orders; continued to aſſemble there for ſeven or eight days longer, and formally declared, as appears by the minutes of their Sitting, "That they had gone into the Hall of the *Tiers-Etat* only in conſideration of the danger that threatened the life of the King; but that, as that ſudden and unforeſeen union could only be temporary, they ſtill regarded themſelves as forming a ſeparate Order, and ſhould continue in conſequence to aſſemble ſeparately." Their laſt Sittings were occupied in diſcuſſing meaſures for preſerving the title of States-General, the diſtinction of the Orders, and the different Chambers for buſineſs, according to the ancient Conſtitution. It was determined that all individual claims on this point ſhould be prohibited, but that thoſe of the whole Order ſhould be drawn up in the form of a Reſolution, which the Preſident ſhould be charged to read in the Aſſembly calling themſelves the National Aſſembly; that in the mean time a Proteſt ſhould be framed, to be made uſe of ſhould thoſe claims not be admitted; and that this Proteſt, ſigned by all the members who formed the majority of the Nobility, ſhould, if occaſion required, be laid on the

the table. But before these two instruments could be prepared, the Hall in which the Order held their Sittings was shut up. They could now only assemble at the house of their President, who, to avoid exposing himself individually, received the members more as company visiting him, than as an assembled body. He urged the fear of displeasing the King, or of increasing the dangers of his situation, as objections against all the measures that were proposed. However, when the Resolution and the Protest were ready, the Deputies of the Order of the Nobility repaired to the Duke of *Luxembourg's* house, and declared to him, in the firmest manner, that they were absolutely determined to sign and complete them. The Duke, finding it would be in vain to oppose, endeavoured to evade it, and with that view adjourned the signing of the two papers till eight o'clock the next morning. The Deputies, most of whom were punctual to the hour appointed, were as much displeased as surprised to learn, on their arrival at the Duke's, that he had set out in the morning as soon as it was light, with all his family, for one of his estates a hundred leagues from Paris.

The Aſſembly of the Order being thus diſſolved by the abſence of its Preſident and Vice-Preſident, for *M. de Croui* was alſo in the country, it became impoſſible to make any claim in a body, and the progreſs of the Revolution left no hope to individual remonſtrances. In this extremity, the only reſource remaining was, to enter into Proteſts by Bailiwicks, and depoſit them with the King; and this was adopted. But his Majeſty refuſing to be the depoſitary of any act by which the ſincerity of his reliance on the Aſſembly could be rendered doubtful, they were committed to the Count *d'Artois*, who was pleaſed to receive them. They are proofs of the ſpirit of the Order of the Nobility, of their attachment to the ancient Conſtitution of the Kingdom, and of their reſiſtance of the violent enterpriſes of the Order of the *Tiers-Etat*.

In order to explain and ſet a juſt value on the conduct of the two firſt Orders on many occaſions, it is neceſſary to know, that the King, whom the Miniſters were perpetually aſſuring that the only means of ſupporting the Government was popularity, thought he ſhould render himſelf more popular by avoiding all communication, direct or indirect,

rect, with the members of the Clergy and Nobility. The conſequence was, that they always went to the Aſſembly without being prepared or informed of what was going to paſs, and that they were frequently ſilent during the moſt important debates, from the apprehenſion of oppoſing the King's views; and this was the reaſon of their not remonſtrating againſt the title of *National Aſſembly*, although they foreſaw all the conſequences of it. The effect of a new word, in times of Revolution, is beyond all calculation. It was not through modeſty, but policy, that *Cromwell*, who had need of unlimited power to maintain his uſurpation, preferred the title of Protector to that of King. The limits of the Royal authority were known: that of Protector never having had any, he might extend them as he thought proper.

CHAPTER VI.

Joy of the People — Illuminations — Defection of the Troops—Some French Guards confined in the Prison of the Abbaye set at Liberty by the People — Conduct of the Assembly — A Letter from the King—Burlesque Sitting of Patriots at the Palais-Royal—Deputation from the Paris Electors—Rapid Progress of the Spirit of Insurrection—Arrival of Troops in the Champ de Mars, and in the neighbourhood of Paris—Marshal Broglio Generalissimo—His Regulations—Absurd alarm—The Soldiers caressed by the People, and the Officers insulted—Speech from Mirabeau—Address to the King—Deputation—His

His Majeſty's anſwer—Diſcontent and Manœuvres of the Factious—Mr. Necker's Imprudence—Duke of Orleans.

WHEN the news of the union of the three Orders was known at Verſailles, the People, tranſported with joy, flocked to the Courts of the Palace, crying out for the King and Queen. Their Majeſties ſhowed themſelves at one of the balconies of the Marble Court, and their condeſcenſion was repaid by the moſt lively and unanimous acclamations of "*Vive le Roi!*"—"*Vive la Reine!*" That unfortunate Princeſs melted into tears, nor could the King reſtrain his own.

When their Majeſties left the balcony, the moſt unthinking part of the populace, incapable of retaining the mild and pure impreſſions which this affecting ſcene muſt have made upon them, haſtened to forget them under the windows of Mr. *Necker*, to whom they offered the groſs incenſe of their benedictions. To him was aſcribed not only all that the King had ſaid and done to accelerate the union of the Orders, but alſo the alarm that had been given to the Count *d'Artois* reſpecting the pretended danger

danger with which the King's life was threatened, and which had determined his Royal Highneſs to write the letter that he had ſent to the Marquis *de Laqueuille*. Some parties went alſo to render the ſame homage to the Duke of *Orleans*, *M. Bailly*, and *M. de Montmorin*, the laſt of whom was conſidered as the beſt friend Mr. *Necker* had in the Council.

The whole night was ſpent in illuminations and rejoicings. In almoſt every ſtreet there were bonfires, and dances, in which the populace and town's-people were ſeen joining with the French and Swiſs Guards, the Dragoons, and Huſſars. The capital was alſo illuminated, to celebrate this Revolutionary Union, which altered the characters to be ſupported by the three Orders, or rather which ſunk the two firſt in the third.

The defection which had already appeared in ſeveral regiments now ſpread very rapidly. It particularly broke out moſt ſcandalouſly and fatally among the French Guards. The *Gardes du Corps* themſelves, ſo renowned for their bravery and fidelity, ſeemed for a moment infected with the mania of the new opinions; but this was

ſoon

ſoon retrieved, and buried in oblivion by their ſubſequent heroiſm.

The People, impatient to aſſiſt in exerciſing the power their Repreſentatives had now gained by the union of the three Orders, were not ſlow in ſignaliſing their ſovereignty by the moſt criminal exceſſes; and *the good city of Paris* was the firſt to ſet the example. On the 30th of June, about half after ſix in the evening, a perſon paſſing the *Caffé de Foi* threw a letter among the crowd of patriots and loungers who were holding their Sitting at the coffee-houſe, and diſappeared in an inſtant. The letter was opened and read: it was from eleven of the French Guards, whom their officers had ſent to the priſon of the *Abbaye St. Germain*, for having refuſed to join in diſperſing the mobs that had collected at Verſailles, particularly thoſe which had beſet the Archbiſhop of *Paris* at the houſe of the Miſſion. Theſe rebellious ſoldiers, inſtead of rejoicing at not having been puniſhed ſo ſeverely as they deſerved, had the impudence to pretend that they were victims to their patriotiſm, and ſaid that the next night they were to be removed to *Bicêtre*, "a place," they obſerved in the letter, "deſigned

" deſigned for vile rogues, and not for " brave fellows like us."

A young man who had heard the letter read went immediately into the garden of the *Palais-Royal*, mounted a chair, and thus addreſſed a great crowd that in an inſtant gathered about him: " Gentlemen, the brave ſoldiers who ſpared the blood of our fellow-citizens at Verſailles are confined in the *Abbaye;* and if we do not fly to deliver them, they may in a few hours be deprived of their exiſtence."

This produced all the effect intended by the ſpeaker. His hearers one and all cried out, " To the *Abbaye!* — to the *Abbaye!* We will bring them to you in leſs than an hour!" This band as they went along were re-enforced by all the young men and townſmen they met; ſo that when they got to the *Abbaye* their number amounted to about 4000 men, a great many of whom where armed with axes, crows, clubs, and large hammers, which they had taken from ſhops in their way.

The priſon gates were ſoon forced, and all the priſoners ſet at liberty, and led in triumph to the *Palais-Royal*, about half after nine o'clock. Juſt as they were leaving

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the *Abbaye*, a company of Dragoons and another of Huſſars came upon them full gallop, with ſabres drawn, as if they intended to diſperſe the crowd; but the people laying hold of their bridles, the ſoldiers at the ſame inſtant returned their ſabres into their ſcabbards, and took off their helmets in token of peace; upon which wine was brought to them, and they drank to the health of the King and of the Nation.

The priſoners were received at the *Palais-Royal* with acclamations, and the moſt clamorous tranſports of joy. They were regaled with ſupper on a table laid in the garden, and camp-beds were carried to the Theatre of the *Varietés*, where they ſlept, guarded by a great number of citizens. The next day lodgings were taken for them at an hotel * adjoining the *Palais-Royal*, and their deliverers diſpatched a Deputation of twenty perſons to the National Aſſembly to place them under their protection. The firſt ſtep taken by theſe Deputies on arriving at Verſailles was to write to *M. Bailly*, to inform him, " that they were ſent *by the Public* to give him an account of the affair

* L'Hotel de Geneve.

of

of the prisoners of the *Abbaye*, and to confer upon it with the National Assembly, to whom they wished to present a petition. In a postscript they added—"Excuse, Sir, *the dishabille* in which we appear; but, forced to come away in haste, we had not time to think of so trifling a circumstance, and under our plain clothes we have all French hearts."

This Deputation, or rather *these Envoys from Paris*, for so were they called, were not admitted to the bar of the House; but their letter to *M. Bailly* was read to the Assembly, who spent the whole Sitting in discussing what was to be done on the occasion. At length, after many motions and much debating, the following Resolution was adopted:

"In reply to the persons come from Paris, the President shall say, that they are to return to that city with entreaties for peace and union, which alone can second the intentions of the National Assembly, and the labours to which they devote themselves for the public happiness.

"The National Assembly bewail the troubles with which the city of Paris is at this time agitated, and, by imploring the King's cle-

clemency towards the perſons who may be guilty, they mean to ſet an example of the moſt profound reſpect for the Royal authority, on which depends the ſafety of the Empire. They therefore conjure the inhabitants of the capital to return immediately to order, and to impreſs on their minds the neceſſity of peace, which can alone enſure the infinite advantages that France is on the point of reaping from the voluntary union of all the Repreſentatives of the Nation.

" A Deputation ſhall be ſent to the King to inform him of the part taken by the National Aſſembly, and to beſeech him to employ, for the reſtoration of order, the infallible means of clemency and mildneſs, which are ſo natural to his heart, and of confidence, which his good ſubjects will ever deſerve."

In this Reſolution we ſtill recogniſe traces of reſpect for the King; but we alſo obſerve with what condeſcenſion, or, properly ſpeaking, with what art, the Aſſembly rather *bewail* the troubles that agitate the capital than expreſs *indignation* at them, and mention the authors of them not as *guilty*, but only *as perſons who may be guilty*. It is true that thoſe perſons were the *Palais-Royal* Patriots,

Patriots, who had already dubbed themſelves THE NATION, and who by that title had ſo much the more right to the attentions of the Aſſembly, as their ſupport might become very uſeful to them on many occaſions eaſily foreſeen. It was this ſuperior conſideration, no doubt, that prevented them from perceiving how abſurd it was to beſeech the King to employ, for the reſtoration of order, *the infallible means of clemency*. It is manifeſt, in fact, that clemency, far from being *an infallible means* to ſuppreſs ſedition, cannot be regarded or have exiſtence as any thing like a means, till after the ſedition is quelled; then the King may, according to his judgment, uſe clemency towards the diſturbers of public order; but this means is the very reverſe of being *infallible* in the prevention of new troubles.

Eight members of the *Tiers-Etat*, and four of each of the other two, compoſed the Deputation charged with preſenting the Reſolution to the King. The Archbiſhop of *Paris* was appointed their Speaker. His Majeſty, affected by what *M. de Juigné** ſaid to him, aſked for the Reſolution, and,

* *De Juigné* was the Archbiſhop's name.

having read it, made the following anſwer to the Deputation:

"Your Reſolution is very prudent. I approve what the Aſſembly of *the States-General* have done; and while they continue to place confidence in me, I hope that all will go well. I will inform you of my determination."

The next day, *July 2d*, the King ſent a letter to the Archbiſhop of *Paris* in theſe terms: "I have obtained an exact account, my Couſin, of all that paſſed in the evening of the 30th of June. The violence uſed to ſet the priſoners of the *Abbaye* free is infinitely blameable; and all the Orders, all bodies of men, all peaceable citizens are intereſted in the higheſt degree to maintain the full energy of the laws, on which reſts the protection of public tranquillity. I ſhall, however, in this inſtance, when order is reſtored, yield to the dictates of mercy; and I hope I ſhall have no reaſon to reproach myſelf for my clemency, as it is for the firſt time beſought by the Aſſembly of the Repreſentatives of the Nation; but I do not doubt that that Aſſembly will attach equal, nay ſuperior importance to the ſucceſs of all the meaſures which I am taking to reſtore

order in the capital. The ſpirit of licentiouſneſs and diſorder is deſtructive of all happineſs; and if it gains ground, not only the peace of all the citizens would be moleſted, and their confidence ſhaken, but, in the end, perhaps the generous labours to which the Repreſentatives of the Nation are devoting themſelves may be conſidered of no value. Communicate my letter to the States-General, and be aſſured yourſelf, my Couſin, of my eſteem."

This letter and the King's anſwer, of which the Archbiſhop of *Paris* gave an account to the Aſſembly, were applauded by the greater part of the members, who expreſſed their acknowledgment by the cry of "*Vive le Roi!*" But the words *States-General*, uſed in his Majeſty's letter, and in his verbal reply to the Deputation, provoked a certain number of Deputies, who, not ſatisfied in with-holding their applauſe, maintained that the expreſſion which had put them out of humour had never come from the King's lips; but the members of the Deputation declared, that the account given by the Archbiſhop of *Paris* was literally exact, and there could be no doubt of it, as the King had uſed the ſame expreſſion in the

letter written with his own hand. At all events, the words *States-General* were ſuppreſſed in the minute of this ſitting, and in moſt of the Journals. It is to be obſerved, that none of the members of the Aſſembly entered any proteſt againſt this piece of forgery.

While this weighty buſineſs engaged the attention of the States-General and of the Council, the eleven French Guards, who were compelled to be conſtantly at the windows of the hotel where they were lodged, in order to gratify the curioſity of the People, were receiving the bounty of the ſpectators in baſkets ſuſpended by ribbons; and at the ſame time the *Palais-Royal* Patriots, waiting news of their deputation, were holding a moſt tumultuous and burleſque ſitting near the Circus, in which all the orators ſpeaking at once made themſelves hoarſe with bawling out motions which nobody heard. "Will you follow us to Verſailles, Gentlemen?" cried one of them with the voice of a Stentor. "Yes! yes! to Verſailles!—to Verſailles!" was the anſwer; and they were going to ſet off for Verſailles, when another orator with iron-lungs roared out—"Ho! what are we go-

ing to do there?"—"Going to do!" replied the former; "to aſk the King not to let the military cheſt of the French Guards be any longer in the hands of ſcoundrels, but to order it to be left to the care of the Serjeants, and not of the Officers." This propoſition was received with ſuch loud and continued burſts of laughter, that it was impoſſible to take it into conſideration. The propoſer being urged by perſons about him to put an end to the laughing, called out—"Gentlemen, I move that it be reſolved by this auguſt Aſſembly, that he who does not keep ſilence ſhall immediately be baſtinadoed." The auditors, fearing leſt this motion ſhould be executed even before it was debated, ſcampered all away, and put an end to the ſitting.

However minute theſe details may appear, they are nevertheleſs neceſſary, to ſhow what was, from the very beginning, the weakneſs and timidity of the Government in preſerving the Royal authority, the audacity with which it was attacked, the means uſed by the factious, and the kind of men they employed as their principal agents.

The Aſſembly of the Electors of Paris, who

who ſtill continued their meetings, hearing that the King had made the return of the eleven French Guards to priſon the condition of their pardon, reſolved that a deputation of twenty-four of their members ſhould be diſpatched to Verſailles, and not return without the pardon for the ſoldiers, who had ſurrendered themſelves at the priſon of the *Abbaye:* but his Majeſty being informed of this reſolution ſent the pardon as ſoon as their ſurrender was known, and before this deputation arrived at Verſailles.

This act of clemency, which the Aſſembly conſidered as an infallible means of reſtoring order, produced the contrary effect. The audacity of the factious and the ferment of the People from that moment increaſed rapidly, and in the moſt alarming manner. Bands of plunderers, ſuch as are always ſeen aſſembling or ſuddenly appearing wherever diſorder prevails, excited inſurrections in all the principal towns, on the grounds of real or pretended ſcarcity. The crowds at the *Palais-Royal* became daily more numerous, and their motions more inflammatory. It has never been fully aſcertained who defrayed the expences of all their

ſeditious commotions; but certain it is they were paid for: this at leaſt I can atteſt, that two perſons of my acquaintance, going out of the *Palais-Royal*, whither they had been led to mix in the crowds from curioſity to hear the motions, found in their pockets two ſix-livres pieces wrapt up in paper, on which theſe words were written: "Be one of us, and you ſhall never want money." If ſuch were the pay of mere liſteners, how much higher muſt the more confidential agents, the propoſers of motions and others, have been rewarded!

It was in theſe circumſtances that the King, convinced that the only means of reſtoring tranquillity to the capital was the preſence of a military force ſufficient to awe the movers of ſedition, ordered ſeveral regiments to march towards Paris. Three were encamped on the *Champ de Mars*, and the others ſtationed at La Muette, Paſſy, Sêves, St. Denis, and other villages. Marſhal *Broglio* was ſummoned to Verſailles, and appointed Commander in chief of the forces aſſembled in the Iſle of France.—He poſted artillery in all the avenues to Verſailles, and ordered conſtant patrols of ſufficient force to protect the Palace from inſult.

fult. The ſight of the cannon, and the motion of the troops, ſtill more provoked and alarmed the People, and alſo the greater number of the Deputies. Their apprehenſions appeared by the letters with which they deluged the capital and provinces, and in which they charged the Miniſtry with the maddeſt deſigns againſt the Aſſembly; ſuch as of firing red-hot balls upon the Hall of the States, of blowing it up with barrels of gunpowder, and the like. The leaders at the *Palais-Royal* now talked only of repelling force by force, and of embodying and arming the citizens to oppoſe the military. At the ſame time every poſſible means was made uſe of to corrupt the ſoldiers; thoſe who came and mixed with the People were loaded with careſſes, while the officers were always groſſly inſulted when they appeared at the *Palais-Royal*.

July 8. At this critical juncture, Count *Mirabeau*, who no doubt had his reaſons for being more alarmed than any other, roſe abruptly in the middle of a debate, and addreſſed the Aſſembly in the following ſpeech:

"Very powerful muſt be the motive that could prevail on me to interrupt the debate, but you will pardon my ardour, as the

danger I riſe to give notice of threatens at once the liberty of the Nation and of the States-General, and involves the ſafety of the Throne.

" I have ſcarcely had time to collect my ideas, but your knowledge will ſupply my deficiencies.

" Six days ago you entered into a Reſolution to invoke the King's clemency, and to beſeech him to employ mild means in order to reſtore tranquillity to the capital.

" The King declared, that he thought your Reſolution full of wiſdom. His anſwer contains this remarkable expreſſion, '*While you have confidence in me all will go well.*' The King afterwards declared, in a letter to the Archbiſhop of *Paris*, that as ſoon as the priſoners had ſurrendered he would be guided only by his clemency.

" Thoſe expreſſions, full of comfort, raiſed confidence and reſtored tranquillity.

" The letter concluded with announcing, that the King was going to take meaſures to prevent commotions.

" From this we might have been tempted to conſider what meaſures they might be. Doubt and anxiety would have been the firſt emotions, and thoſe would have led us to beſeech

beſeech his Majeſty to explain what thoſe meaſures were.

" I ſhould myſelf have made a motion upon that ſubject, had I not, by reading over and over again thoſe expreſſions full of goodneſs which had flowed from the King's ſenſibility, been fully ſatisfied with them.

" But what has been the ſequel of this moderation by which we have been lulled to ſleep?

" In theſe moments of ſlumber, troops have been collected, trains of artillery brought up, regiments are on their march, five-and-thirty thouſand men are already arrived, and twenty thouſand more are expected.

" The communications are all ſeized upon; the highways, paſſes, bridges, all intercepted—our very walks are no longer free: ſecret preparations, dark and gloomy deſigns, are all we hear of.

" Was it not enough that the ſanctuary of Liberty had been ſtained? Was it not enough, that the want of attention to the indiſpenſable conveniences requiſite for all ranks and all men had marked a degrading contempt for the majeſty of the Nation? Was it not enough that the Deputies had been

been treated like ſtrolling players, whoſe barn the grand maſter metamorphoſes at his pleaſure? But muſt the military train of deſpotiſm ſpread alarm through the whole nation—give them, if I may ſo ſay, the ſignal of civil war, and inſult them in their Repreſentatives?

"And were *we* alone concerned, would it not be proper that we ſhould be treated with a civility worthy the Nation we repreſent?

"Is it forgotten that the King is reſpectable in proportion as the Nation is reſpected? Is it forgotten that he wiſhes to govern only free men? And is he to be condemned to the cruel condition of deſpots, woefully doomed never to know the ſweet ſenſation of confidence?

"Meaſures like theſe are not wanted to reſtore tranquillity—it is reſtored; but, admitting the commotions to be true, what need is there for a camp at Verſailles, for a camp under the walls of the capital, for parks of artillery on the plains, the roads, the bridges, and in the gardens?

"The People ſhow ſigns of great diſorder; the gates of a priſon are forced, and priſoners delivered from their irons: but an

act

act of clemency puts a ſtop to the general turbulence; the people diſperſe, order is reſtored, and the priſoners reſume their irons. In a word, the King's goodneſs effected what the cannon of armies long experienced in the military art, and led by victorious Generals, could not have accompliſhed.

" Never had the People more reaſon to be ſatisfied than at this moment. They have in view happineſs, the regeneration of their laws, and the reform of abuſes under which they have long groaned. Their wiſhes and their hopes centre in this Aſſembly. Nor did this pretended inſurrection, which is to be quelled by numerous armies, begin before the military retinue of the Royal Sitting had every where ſpread apprehenſion and terror. It was not till the People had ſeen their Deputies in danger that they manifeſted their indignation.

" But of what uſe are theſe arms and this artillery, that every moment threaten our heads? Is it ſuppoſed that the ſoldier will turn aſſaſſin at the nod of his leaders? Are the adviſers of theſe diſaſtrous meaſures ſure of conſtantly maintaining military rigour? Can they degrade the French ſoldiers ſo low

as

as to make them the mere paſſive miniſters of their fury? Is it imagined that they will be ſimple machines? and that they will not perceive that they are cutting the throats of their brothers, their relations, and their friends?

"Or is it to inſult, to diſhonour them, that hordes of barbarians, thirſting for French blood, and waiting but to ſhed it, are ſummoned from the receſſes of the north? Is it to relieve the miſery of the People that they are called to diſpute with us a ſcanty remainder of food, ſcarcely enough to avert famine for a few hours from ourſelves?

"The conſideration of theſe circumſtances, of which I have given a very haſty ſketch, calls upon me, in conſcience, reaſon, and duty, to move—

"'That an Addreſs be preſented to the King, ſhowing to his Majeſty the great apprehenſions that have ariſen in the Aſſembly, from the liberty that has been lately taken, in his name, to collect about the capital and Verſailles a train of artillery, and numerous corps of military, foreign as well as national, ſome of which are already cantoned in the neighbouring villages, and are about

to

to form ſeveral camps in the environs of the two towns.

" ' That it be repreſented to the King, that theſe meaſures are not only oppoſite to the gracious intentions of his Majeſty for relieving his ſubjects, on the unfortunate occaſion of the dearth, but contrary alſo to the liberty and honour of the National Aſſembly, and calculated to deſtroy that confidence between the King and his People, which forms the glory and ſafety of the Monarchy, which alone can ſecure the peace of the Kingdom, and at length procure for the Nation the ineſtimable fruits which they expect from the labours and zeal of this Aſſembly.

" ' That his Majeſty be moſt reſpectfully entreated to remove the fears of his faithful ſubjects, by giving neceſſary orders for putting an immediate ſtop to thoſe meaſures, equally uſeleſs, dangerous, and alarming, and for the ſpeedy removal of the troops and train of artillery back to the places whence they were called.

" ' And as it may be proper, in conſequence of the diſturbance and dread which theſe meaſures have created in the minds of the People, to provide for the maintenance

of

of the peace, his Majeſty ſhall be entreated to give orders that, in the two cities of Paris and Verſailles, there be forthwith raiſed bourgeois guards, who under command of the King will be fully ſufficient for the purpoſe, without augmenting about theſe towns, already oppreſſed with the calamities of ſcarcity, the number of conſumers.'"

This motion made a very ſtrong impreſſion on the Aſſembly, and was adopted almoſt unanimouſly, except the article relative to the eſtabliſhment of a bourgeois guard. A Committee was appointed to draw up without delay the Addreſs to the King; and *Mirabeau* offering one which he had already prepared, it was adopted with ſome ſlight changes. This artful Addreſs, to which the fatal error of the majority of the Aſſembly, and of the Nation itſelf, may be aſcribed, was not the work of a few moments, whatever *Mirabeau* might ſay: we have but to read it to be convinced that it was very profoundly conſidered:

"SIRE,

"You have invited the National Aſſembly to repoſe its confidence in you; which was

was meeting its dearest wishes. We are come to state our alarm to your Majesty. Had we the weakness to fear for ourselves, your goodness would deign even in that case to remove our fears; and while you blamed us for doubting your intentions, you would attend to our uneasiness, you would dissipate its cause, you would leave no uncertainty in the situation of the National Assembly.

"But, Sire, we do not implore your protection, as that would be to offend your justice.

"We have conceived fears; and we dare to assert, that they arise from the purest patriotism, from the interest of our constituents, from anxiety for public tranquillity and the happiness of a beloved Monarch, who, in clearing our path to felicity, well deserves to walk in it himself without impediment.

"The real welfare of the French, Sire, lies in the emotions of your heart.

"When troops are advancing on all sides, when camps are forming about us, and the capital is invested, we ask each other, with astonishment, if the King mistrusts the fidelity of his People? Could he have doubted it, would he not have made his paternal apprehensions

prehenſions known to us? What means this menacing array? Where are the enemies, of the State and of the King, who are to be ſubdued? Where are the rebels, the leaguers, that are to be reduced? From the capital and from the whole kingdom one unanimous voice replies: *We love our King, and bleſs Heaven for his affection.*

" Sire, your Majeſty's zeal could never have been abuſed but under colour of the public good.

" If they who have given theſe counſels to our King had had confidence enough in their principles to have laid them before us, it would have produced a glorious triumph for truth.

" The State has nothing to dread but from bad principles, which dare to beſet the Throne itſelf without reſpecting the conſcience of the pureſt and moſt virtuous of Princes. And by what means, Sire, are they able to make you doubt the attachment and love of your ſubjects? Have you been laviſh of their blood? Are you cruel and implacable? Have you perverted juſtice? Do the People impute their misfortunes to you? Do they name you in their calamities? Have you been told that the Nation is impatient

patient of your yoke, and tired of the ſceptre of the Bourbons? No, this has not been told you: Calumny is not abſurd; it always endeavours to colour its wickedneſs with ſome ſhow of probability.

"Your Majeſty has recently ſeen the power you have over your people: ſubordination is re-eſtabliſhed in the agitated Capital; the priſoners releaſed by the multitude have of themſelves returned to their priſons; and public order, which, if force had been employed, might have coſt a torrent of blood, is reſtored by a ſingle word from your lips. But that word was a word of peace; it was the effuſion of your heart, which your ſubjects glory in never reſiſting. How exalted is the exerciſe of ſuch an empire! it was the empire of Louis IX. of Louis XII. of Henry IV.—it is the only empire worthy of you.

"We ſhould deceive you, Sire, if, yielding to circumſtances, we were not to add, that this empire is the only one that it is now poſſible to exerciſe in this country: France will not ſuffer the beſt of kings to be impoſed upon, and diverted by ſiniſter views from the noble plan which he himſelf has traced out. You have called us to ſettle the

Conſtitution in concert with you, to effect the regeneration of the kingdom; the National Aſſembly come to aſſure you ſolemnly that your wiſhes ſhall be accompliſhed, that your promiſes ſhall not be vain, that ſnares, difficulties, terrors, ſhall not retard their progreſs, ſhall not intimidate their courage.

" Will our enemies affect to aſk, 'Where can be the danger of the troops? what mean their complaints, if their courage is not to be ſhaken?'

" The danger, Sire, is urgent, is general, is beyond all calculation of human foreſight.

" The danger is in the people of the provinces: once alarmed for our liberty, we know of no curb that can reſtrain them. Diſtance alone magnifies, exaggerates, doubles ſuſpicion, exaſperates, envenoms.

" The danger is in the capital: How will the people, reduced to indigence and ſuffering the crueleſt pangs, bear to ſee their ſcanty remainder of proviſion diſputed by a crowd of frowning ſoldiers? The ſight of the troops will exaſperate, excite and produce a general fermentation; and the firſt act of violence, exerciſed under the pretence of police,

police, may set fire to a horrible train of misfortunes.

" The danger is in the troops: French Soldiers, brought near to the centre of discussions, and participating the passions as well as the interests of the People, may forget that a compact has made them soldiers, while they remember that Nature made them men.

" The danger, Sire, threatens the labours which are our first duty, and which will not be attended with complete success and real permanence, but as the People shall consider them as free. Besides, there is a contagion in passionate emotions—we are but men: distrust of ourselves, and the dread of appearing weak, may hurry us beyond the goal. We too shall be assailed with violent and indiscreet counsels: cool reason and tranquil wisdom do not deliver their oracles amidst tumult, disorder, and factious scenes.

" The danger, Sire, is more dreadful still: judge of its extent by the alarm which brings us before you. Great Revolutions have sprung from much slighter causes: more than one enterprise fatal to nations have appeared in a manner less untoward and less formidable.

" Believe not thoſe who ſpeak lightly to you of the Nation, and who repreſent it to you only according to their views; ſometimes inſolent, rebellious, ſeditious; and ſometimes ſubmiſſive, docile to the yoke, and ready to bow its head to receive it: both theſe repreſentations are equally untrue.

" The Nation is ever ready to obey you, Sire, becauſe you command in the name of the Laws, and its allegiance is as unbounded as it is unſuſpected.

" The Nation is ready to reſiſt all the arbitrary commands of thoſe who abuſe your name, becauſe they are enemies to the laws: this reſiſtance is enjoined by our allegiance itſelf; and it will always be an honour to merit reproaches incurred by our firmneſs.

" Sire, we conjure you in the name of the Country, in the name of your happineſs and of your glory, to ſend away your ſoldiers to the poſts from which your adviſers have brought them; to ſend away this artillery, which is deſigned to protect your frontiers; above all, to ſend away the foreign troops, thoſe allies of the Nation, whom we pay to defend, not to diſturb, our dwellings. Your Majeſty has no need of them. Why ſhould our King, adored

adored by twenty-five millions of Frenchmen, ſurround his Throne, at a great expence, with a few thouſands of foreigners? Sire, in the midſt of your children be guarded by their love. The Deputies of the Nation are called to conſecrate with you the eminent rights of Royalty upon the immoveable baſis of the liberty of the People: but while they are fulfilling their duty, while they are yielding to their reaſon and their conſcience, would you expoſe them to the ſuſpicion of having yielded only to fear? The authority you receive from our affection is the only pure and immutable one: it is the juſt return for your goodneſs, and the immortal right of Princes who follow your example."

This Addreſs excited the moſt lively and general enthuſiaſm in the Aſſembly. It was read twice, and received as much applauſe on the ſecond reading as on the firſt. A Deputation of twenty-four Members was immediately nominated to preſent it to the King. They were not admitted till the evening of the next day, when his Majeſty made the following reply:

" No one is unacquainted with the diſorders and ſcandalous ſcenes which have been acted repeatedly at Paris and Verſailles, under my eyes and under thoſe of the States-General. It is neceſſary that I ſhould make uſe of the means which are in my power to reſtore and maintain order in the Capital and in its neighbourhood: to guard the public peace is one of my principal duties. Theſe are the motives which have induced me to aſſemble troops near Paris. You may aſſure the States-General, that they are only deſigned to ſuppreſs, or rather to prevent, commotions; to maintain good order and the adminiſtration of the laws; and to ſecure and protect the liberty which ought to reign in your debates, and from which not only all conſtraint ſhould be removed, but all apprehenſion of tumult and of violence. None but the ill-diſpoſed could lead my people to miſinterpret the real motives of the meaſures of precaution I am taking. I have conſtantly endeavoured to do all that can tend to their happineſs, and I have ever had cauſe to be aſſured of their love and allegiance.

" If however the neceſſary preſence of the troops in the environs of Paris occaſion ſtill any

any umbrage, I shall have no objection, on the Assembly's requesting it, to remove the States-General to Noyon or Soissons; and in that case I would go to Compiegne, in order to keep up the communication between us."

This was not the answer wished by the Popular Faction; but all the wise and reasonable members of the Assembly were satisfied with it, and the rest were obliged to submit, as the alternative was a removal, which would have disconcerted all their plans. Besides, they flattered themselves that they should soon find the means of constraining the King to yield on this article as they had done on all the rest.

The first manœuvre by which they attempted to accomplish their design was, to spread fresh alarms respecting the scarcity of provisions, and the pretended rapidity of its progress, which their trusty Journalists, and the incendiaries of the *Palais-Royal*, ascribed to the enormous consumption made by the troops cantoned in the neighbourhood of Paris. Mr. *Necker* contributed in no small degree to countenance this opinion, by the Memorial (an imprudent one, to say the least

of it) which he ſent on the 10th of July to the Committee of Subſiſtence; and in which he announced, that the whole Court and the King himſelf were to be reduced to eating rye-bread. He concluded his Memorial with this deſponding phraſe: "When men have done every thing in their power, it only remains for them to ſubmit with patience to the laws of Neceſſity, and to the decrees of Providence."

The *Orleans* Faction did not let ſlip this occaſion to increaſe the affection of the populace for that Prince. On the ſame day, the 10th of July, a pretended Motion of the Duke of *Orleans* for the relief of the People was cried through all the ſtreets of the Capital. In this paper it was ſaid, that he had offered the Committee of Subſiſtence a ſum of 300,000 livres, to prevent the price of bread from riſing, and to ſtop the progreſs of the dearth. The moſt enthuſiaſtic praiſes were laviſhed upon him, as if he had been the guardian angel of France. To his modeſty, and not to his incapacity, was aſcribed his refuſal of being Preſident, to which office the Aſſembly had appointed him ſome days before. His adherents, not ſatisfied with forgetting the vices that had hitherto ſtained the

the whole courſe of his life, even dared to talk of his virtues. The virtues of the Duke of *Orleans!*—Alas! he was but too perfect in all thoſe which Revolutionary Patriotiſm has conſecrated, and eſpecially that of familiariſing himſelf to the greateſt crimes.

CHAP-

CHAPTER VII.

Diſmiſſion of Mr. Necker—Barriers at Paris burnt—Seditious Commotions at the Palais-Royal—Camille Deſmoulins—Apotheoſis of the Duke of Orleans and of Mr. Necker—Public Places ſhut up—The Gunſmiths' Shops forced open and pillaged—The French Guards fire on a Detachment of the Regiment of Royal Allemand—The Prince de Lambeſc enters the Thuilleries at the Head of his Detachment—His Retreat—View of the Situation of Paris and Verſailles—Robberies—The Convent of St. Lazarus burnt—The Garde-meuble of the Crown pillaged—The Priſoners of the Hotel de la Force ſet at Liberty by the People—Inſurrection among thoſe of the Chatelet—General Diſorder—The Electors of Paris make themſelves

themſelves Maſters of all the Authority—Bourgeois Militia proviſionally embodied—Inactivity of the Miniſters—Conduct of the Aſſembly—Firmneſs of the King—Motion by M. de la Fayette—Permanent Sitting of the Aſſembly, and of the Patriots of the Palais-Royal.

MR. *Necker*'s conduct was perhaps more imprudent than treacherous; but there was too much vanity in his morality, too much faſtidiouſneſs in his politics, and too much ambition in his popularity, to allow the re-eſtabliſhment of the Royal authority to be his work; and it is even very doubtful whether it was his object. It is certain, that all the parties labouring to ſubvert the Monarchy, or at leaſt to change the nature of it, depended upon the ſupport or on the indulgence of that Miniſter, and that the ſtaunch Royaliſts had no reliance upon him. Theſe motives at length determined the King to remove him; and on Saturday morning, the 11th of July, *M. de Montmorin* carried him a letter from his Majeſty, in which he diſmiſſed him, and ordered him to leave the kingdom. Mr. *Necker* kept his diſgrace a profound ſecret, even from his wife, and received

ceived company that day at dinner as usual. Those who dined with him did not perceive the least alteration in his countenance. After dinner his wife and daughter invited him to take a ride to the Val, a country-house, situated in the forest of *St. Germain*, belonging to Madame *de Beauvau*, an intimate friend of Mrs. *Necker*'s. He consented, and went into the carriage with his wife; but instead of going to the Val, he took the road to Brussels in order to be the sooner out of the kingdom.

At eleven o'clock, the same night, the Banditti who were in the neighbourhood of Paris went in crowds to the parts of the town about *La Nouvelle France* and *La Petite Pologne*, and concluded their incursions by burning the barrier in the *Chaussée d'Antin*. Mr. *Necker*'s departure, however, was not yet known at Paris, which proves that his disgrace was by no means the cause nor the pretext for this insurrection, which was evidently projected before; and the burning of the *Palais-Bourbon* was to have been the signal of a general rebellion, had not Mr. *Necker*'s dismission happened at the moment fixed for its breaking out. A Deputy who was a Member of the Breton Club (one *Coroller*) confessed

feſſed that ſuch was the plan of the rebels; and his confeſſion is confirmed by the depoſition of ſeveral witneſſes, taken on the trial at the Chatelet for the offences committed on the 5th and 6th of October*.

The report of Mr. *Necker*'s departure did not take wind in Paris till the 12th, at nine o'clock in the morning; and then it was ſpoken of with caution and myſtery, as one of thoſe outrageous attempts of which it is not always prudent to appear too much in the ſecret. The news was not confirmed till between eleven and twelve, by perſons coming from Verſailles to the *Palais-Royal*, where the concourſe of Patriots was ſuch, that it was hardly poſſible to take half a dozen ſteps in the garden without being ſtopped by a group. In the middle of this immenſe crowd, *Camille Deſmoulins*, one of the moſt inflammatory Demoniacs of the Revolution, mounting upon a table, cried out with a thundering voice: "Citizens, there is not a moment to be loſt: Mr. *Necker* is diſmiſſed; this diſmiſſion is the alarm-bell for another *St. Bartholomew* of Patriots:

* See the Depoſitions of Meſſrs. *Guilhermi*, *Dufraiſſe*, *Duchey*, and *Tailhardat de la Maiſonneuve*.

to-night

to-night all the Swiſs and German battalions will come from the *Champ de Mars*, and cut our throats.—We have but one reſource left; that is, to fly to arms, and wear a cockade by which we may know one another." Several motions were made reſpecting the colour of this cockade, and green was adopted, as being that of Hope. "Friends," reſumed then the ſpeaker, "the ſignal is given: I already ſee the ſatellites and ſpies of the police ſtaring me in the face, but I will not fall into their hands alive." As he ſaid this, he drew two piſtols from his pocket, and, ſhowing them to the crowd, cried: "Let every Citizen follow my example." Fury was at its height, but thoſe who were agitated by it did not yet know upon whom, or how, to vent it. The ruffians who the evening before had burnt the barriers of the *Chauſſée d'Antin* went off to the *Barriere Blanche* to ſet that on fire; but a detachment of fifty men from the regiment of *Royal-Allemand* came up in time to prevent them. It was alſo neceſſary to ſend aſſiſtance to the other barriers, which were almoſt all threatened at the ſame time, and ſeveral were burnt.

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In the afternoon, the fermentation was farther increaſed at the *Pâlais Royal* by the news of the diſmiſſion of the three miniſters who were ſuppoſed to be the moſt devoted to Mr. *Necker*, namely, *M. de Montmorin*, *M. de la Luzerne*, and *M. de St. Prieſt*, and debates were begun upon the outrages, more or leſs violent, that ought to ſignaliſe the vengeance of the people, when a large mob ſuddenly ruſhing into an adjoining hall, where ſome wax figures were exhibited, bore off the buſts of the Duke of *Orleans* and Mr. *Necker*, placed them upon the ſame frame, and croſſing the garden went into the ſtreet Richelieu, towards the Boulevards, crying out as they went along, "Off hats! *Vive Necker! Vive le Duc d'Orleans!*" compelling every body they met in their way to bow to the buſts.

This proceſſion, amounting to three or four thouſand ragged banditti, armed with piſtols, old guns, ruſty cutlaſſes, loaded cudgels, ſpits, axes, pitchforks, and pikes, walked quickly along and without any order. On each ſide of the frame was a kind of black flag bordered with white. From time to time parties of them left this crowd to run to the different places of amuſement, and

threaten to ſet them on fire if they were not ſhut up. Theſe ruffians in their way broke into the gunſmiths' ſhops, and carried off the arms.

A detachment of *Royal-Allemand*, ſent to diſperſe this mob, received a volley from the French Guards as they were paſſing their quarters on the *Chauſſée d'Antin*, ſtopped to return it, and continued their march without quickening their pace. There were ſome ſoldiers killed and wounded on both ſides, but fewer on the ſide of the regiment of *Royal-Allemand* than on that of the French Guards.

The detachment marched to the *Place Louis XV.* and there found a body of dragoons who had been diſperſing the proceſſion. The two buſts were broken to pieces; and the populace in their fright taking refuge in the garden of the Thuilleries, the Prince *de Lambeſc* purſued them thither, at the head of the detachment of *Royal-Allemand*, according to the orders he received from *M. de Buzenval*. This ſmall troop coming up to the head of the *Pont-tournant*, (or turning bridge) at the extremity of the garden, found a kind of barricade, haſtily formed by chairs heaped upon one another: while they were removing

removing this obſtacle, they received a ſhower of ſtones, broken chairs, and bottles, from the two terraces, between which the Prince *de Lambeſc* drew up his troop, keeping conſtantly at their head. Some guns and piſtols were diſcharged at them, which did no hurt; but ſeveral of the troopers were much bruiſed by the things that had been thrown at them, and an officer was ſeverely wounded by a ſtone.

The Prince *de Lambeſc*, keeping at ſix paces from the bridge, according to the order of *M. de Buzenval*, oppoſed only a ſteady front to the aggreſſions of the populace. Seeing that this poſt became untenable, and that it was impoſſible for him any longer to reſtrain his troopers from repelling force by force, he gave the order for retreating out of the garden. At the ſame inſtant a cry was heard from all ſides of, *turn the bridge, turn the bridge*; and ſome perſons, in conſequence, ran and began to do it. The Prince *de Lambeſc*, juſtly fearing that a moſt bloody carnage would be the inevitable conſequence of it, ordered ſome piſtols to be fired in the air towards the bridge, to awe thoſe who were ſtriving to turn it. As the report of this volley did not deter them,

he rode up himſelf, and with his ſabre ſtruck one of thoſe who were working hardeſt. The man ran off; and the Prince paſſing the bridge with his detachment into the *Place Louis XV.* drew up near the Statue, and, being ſoon joined by the Swiſs regiment of Chateauvieux, took his poſt with this force near the *Garde-meuble*, where he remained ſome time, having placed the infantry before him. At ten at night *M. de Buzenval* diſmiſſed a part of the troops to their quarters, and ſent the reſt to Verſailles.

Theſe facts being all judicially confirmed by the trial that was inſtituted againſt *M. de Buzenval*, prove how much the Prince *de Lambeſc's* conduct was calumniated by all the Journaliſts who mentioned it, and what little confidence is due to writers of that claſs in times of Revolution, even when their accounts agree.

It would be difficult to paint the diſorder, fermentation, and alarm, that prevailed in the capital during this dreadful day. A city taken by ſtorm, and delivered up to the ſoldiers' fury, could not preſent a more dreadful picture. Imagine detachments of cavalry and dragoons making their way through different

ferent parts of the town, at full gallop, to the poſts aſſigned them; trains of artillery rolling over the pavement with a monſtrous noiſe; bands of ill-armed ruffians and women drunk with brandy running through the ſtreets like furies, breaking the ſhops open, and ſpreading terror every where by their howlings, mingled with frequent reports from guns or piſtols fired in the air; all the barriers on fire; thouſands of ſmugglers taking advantage of the tumult to hurry their goods in; the alarm-bell ringing in almoſt all the churches; a great part of the citizens ſhutting themſelves up at home, loading their guns, and burying their money, papers, and valuable effects, in cellars and gardens; and, during the night, the town paraded by numerous patrols of citizens of every claſs, and even of both ſexes, for many women were ſeen with muſkets or pikes upon their ſhoulders. Such is the exact picture of the ſtate of Paris on the 12th of July. At Verſailles the new Miniſtry were buſily debating, ſometimes in the Council, ſometimes in Committees, without knowing what reſolution to take. The General Officers were conſtantly going for orders, were made to wait

long, and received none at laſt. The apprehenſion that the ruffians might come to Verſailles, made them at length adopt the meaſure of cutting off all communication with Paris. Cannon and detachments of troops were poſted upon the bridges of Sevès and St. Cloud, and in all the avenues. No one was allowed to go beyond thoſe bounds, ſo that before the cloſe of the day all communication between the Court and the Capital was completely ſuſpended.

The King could not have diſmiſſed Mr. *Necker* at a more critical juncture than that in which the People, alarmed with famine, fixed all their hopes on the attentions of that Miniſter, and on the credit and reſources they attributed to him; the very day too of his diſmiſſion increaſed the danger*. An event which on a holiday or on a Sunday would produce an inſurrection is ſcarcely attended to on any other day, becauſe the claſs of people that live by daily labour, and thoſe who are in their ſhops, do not quit their work to aſſemble riotouſly, and create

* The 12th of July, the day on which the news of Mr. *Necker's* diſmiſſion was known at Paris, happened to be Sunday.

inſur-

insurrections; but wherever leisure or their affairs draw them together in great numbers in the squares, walks, or any public place, the mob is already formed, and a violent motion, with a few glasses of brandy, is enough to make them riotous. Persons employed in the police of great towns can corroborate the truth of this observation, and my own experience has taught me how much it merits the attention of the Government, particularly in times of trouble and fermentation.

The choice of the juncture and of the day for dismissing Mr. *Necker* was not the only imprudence attending the advice given to the King. It was a much more serious error, to propose that so hazardous a step should be taken before his Majesty had had time to resolve and prepare the measures and precautions that might ensure the success of such a determination, or at least prevent its fatal consequences. It is yet doubted whether Mr. *Necker's* successor had any other plan, any other object, than that of becoming Prime Minister. It was certainly not easy to conceive, and still less to execute, a plan by which the King's safety and the preservation of the Monarchy itself might

be ſecured; but ſuch being the taſk impoſed upon the ſucceſſor of Mr. *Necker*, it was the duty of every man of honour, of every good ſervant of the King, to decline it if he had the leaſt doubt of performing it. The Baron *de Breteuil*, more convinced than any one elſe of being poſſeſſed of the talents requiſite for the juncture, did not heſitate to become Prime Miniſter; and the conſequences of his preſumption have been very diſaſtrous.

The Revolution, though in its cradle at that time, aſſumed one of its diſtinguiſhing characters. The Pariſians, in arming the populace and ruffians in order to oppoſe them to the troops of the line, were anxious to anticipate a danger with which they were not threatened, and thought nothing of that ariſing from putting the public force into the hands of thoſe who ſhould always be awed by it. The conſequence was, that next day, July 13th, at three in the morning, an immenſe crowd, armed with clubs, bludgeons, and pikes, under pretence of the dearth of proviſions, attacked the convent of St. *Lazarus*, crying out — "Bread!" "bread!" The monks immediately cauſed all the proviſions of every kind they could procure to be diſtributed. After ſatisfying their

their hunger, but more particularly their thirſt, the ruffians demanded arms for the defence of the *Tiers-Etat;* and pretending to believe that there were ſome concealed in the houſe, they broke open every door, pillaged the church, the library, the corn-lofts and cellars, ſet two priſoners at liberty that had been ſent to St. *Lazarus* for correction, and likewiſe all the mad people that were confined there. When they had completely plundered the houſe they ſet fire to it; and if 400 of the French Guards, who were fortunately paſſing through that quarter at the time of the fire, had not protected the fire-men at their work and driven the rioters away, all that part of the town would have been reduced to aſhes.

Under the ſame pretence of ſearching for concealed arms, the doors of ſeveral of the convents were broken open; but the pillage was more moderate, and the houſes were not ſet on fire. While theſe enterpriſes againſt private property were executed at once by ſeveral gangs of rioters, the populace having forced the doors of the *Garde-meuble* carried off all the rich and curious arms that were there depoſited, though the greater part of them could be of no uſe.

The other valuable effects preſerved there would not have eſcaped the pillage, but for the oppoſition of a miſerable creature, almoſt naked, who had gone in with the crowd, and who cried out, with a voice ſtrong enough to awe the plunderers: "No "pillaging, comrades; we are not thieves: "all this belongs to the Nation." Theſe words, repeated by the populace, ſaved the *Garde-meuble*.

At the ſame time another gang of rioters beſieged the priſon *de la Force*. The officer who commanded the detachment employed to guard it, having repreſented to *M. de Buzenval* that he was not in a ſtate to reſiſt the multitude, received a note in anſwer, intimating "that the beſt thing to be done "was to withdraw his men prudently, and in "ſuch a manner as that they ſhould neither "be aſſaulted nor abuſed." The officer did not heſitate to follow the advice given him in this note, the original of which remained in the hands of the Warden: he concealed his dreſs under a common great coat, and went off by a private door. The doors of the priſon not being defended were ſoon broken down, and all the priſoners confined for debt were immediately releaſed; thoſe who

who were detained for offences againſt the police, and the women of a looſe life, were not ſet at liberty till the afternoon.

The criminals confined in the priſon of the *Chatelet*, hearing of what had paſſed at the *Hotel de la Force*, were every moment in expectation of their fetters being taken off. Growing impatient at neither ſeeing nor hearing of any ſuccour intended for them, they attempted to procure their own liberty, dug up the pavement of the court, and appeared at the doors, armed with ſtones, broken benches, and whatever they could lay their hands upon; ſome of them even had piſtols and hangers, which had been brought to them. The keeper, alarmed at their outrageous cries and menaces, went to his window, and called the rioters who were paſſing the ſtreet, to his aſſiſtance; and it is remarkable, that thoſe very people, moſt of whom had joined in releaſing the priſoners of the Hotel *de la Force*, took equal pains in bringing the priſoners of the *Chatelet* to order. They cauſed the outer-door to be opened, fired on the priſoners, killed and wounded a great number of them, and then went into the court and diſarmed the reſt.

It

It was rendering the capital an eſſential ſervice, to reſtrain in fetters many hundreds of aſſaſſins and highway robbers, whoſe irruption would have been marked by innumerable crimes. But this ſervice was not diſintereſted in thoſe who rendered it; they had no need of auxiliaries in their plunder, and it was important to them not to aſſociate in it experienced rogues, who would have appropriated the better part of the booty.

The gangs of plunderers that were running through the ſtreets were every inſtant increaſing and gaining ſtrength. Their vociferations and menaces terrified and put to flight all the peaceable citizens. The diſorder and uproar had riſen to ſuch a pitch of violence, that the alarm-bell, which had never ceaſed ringing, was ſcarcely heard; and while all theſe enormities were committing, *M. de Buzenval*, who had at his diſpoſal a force more than ſufficient to ſuppreſs them, and who was particularly charged to maintain the order and tranquillity of the capital, kept all the troops under his command completely inactive.

The Pariſians, convinced that they had to defend themſelves at the ſame time from the Rabble

Rabble and from the Government, awoke from the ſtate of ſtupor into which they had fallen, and attempted to undertake their ſecurity themſelves, but did not at firſt know how to ſet about it. They ſhut the ſhops, but the rioters broke them open; they wore the green cockade, and the rioters wore it too. The Electors dexterouſly ſeized this critical moment to make themſelves maſters of all the authorities. They aſſembled at the *Hotel de Ville*, under the title of *Proviſional Magiſtrates;* and Proclamations publiſhed by their order in every ſtreet invited all the citizens to repair to their reſpective diſtricts. Theſe ran in crowds to the church where the Aſſemblies were held for the elections of members to the States-General. An active and continual correſpondence was immediately eſtabliſhed between the Diſtricts and the Electoral Aſſembly; the latter of which, without loſing a moment, appointed a ſtanding Committee to attend night and day to the re-eſtabliſhment of order, and to employ themſelves in ſpeedily forming a Pariſian Bourgeois Militia, the number of which was proviſionally ſettled at 48,000 men. They alſo erected different offices, to which they referred all objects of public utility,

utility, and particularly the measures to be taken for supplying Paris with provisions. Each of the Districts likewise established a standing Committee. *M. de Flesselles*, the *Prevôt des Marchands*, was President of that of the Electors. *M. de Crosne*, the Lieutenant of Police, was summoned by them to give instructions relative to the supplies for Paris: he attended, gave all the information required of him, and then resigned his office. This Committee then employed themselves with the greatest activity in the embodying and training of the Parisian Militia, and immediately published the Resolution they had taken to this effect, which in an instant changed the situation of the capital.

The preamble of this Resolution had all the conciseness of the best established Sovereignty, and ran thus: "The notoriety "of the disorders and excesses committed "by several mobs having determined the "General Assembly to re-establish the Pa-"risian Militia, it is ordered as follows."

This Resolution divided the rounds of the sixty Districts of Paris into sixteen quarters, raised sixteen legions bearing each the name of one of the sixteen quarters respectively,

tively, and compoſed in the following manner, twelve of four battalions, and four of three; in all ſixty battalions, conſiſting of four companies each, containing two hundred men, excluſive of ſix officers. The General Staff was compoſed of a Commander in Chief, a Deputy Commander, a Major-General, and an Adjutant-General; the Field Officers of each particular legion conſiſted of a Colonel, Lieutenant-Colonel, a Major, four Adjutants, and a Deputy Adjutant. The Committee reſerved to themſelves the right of appointing the General Staff Officers and the Field Officers of each legion, and left to the Diſtricts the choice and appointment of Officers to their reſpective battalions.

At the ſame time this Reſolution eſtabliſhed ſixteen principal guard-houſes for the ſixteen legions, and a particular guard-houſe in each Diſtrict. It ordained alſo, that the cockade to be worn by the Militia ſhould be of the colours adopted by the General Aſſembly, that is to ſay—blue, white, and red. This immediately became the cockade of the citizens of all claſſes and both ſexes, and was ſubſtituted in the place of the green one that had been taken in the morning.

This

This new Militia was in want of arms and ammunition. Fowling-pieces, cutlaſſes, and piſtols, were borrowed from the gunſmiths and cutlers whoſe ſhops had eſcaped the pillage. The arms of the Watch were taken, and alſo thoſe of the French Guards, who after uſing them the evening before againſt the King's troops went and offered them to the rebels. A boat loaded with powder was ſeized at *St. Nicholas's* bridge; and ſeveral barrels, ſome of which were filled with arms and ammunition, were taken at the King's ſtables. In the Fauxbourgs, and in ſome ſtreets, the People made trenches and barricadoes of caſks, and fortified them with ditches, as if they expected a ſiege.

The promptneſs with which the Pariſians organized at once this Proviſional Magiſtracy, the Bourgeois Militia, and the ſixty Diſtrict Aſſemblies, has been made too much a wonder. To Mr. *Necker's* imprudence belongs the honour of this melancholy miracle, without which the City of Paris would have been under the neceſſity of ſubmitting to the King's authority, and of imploring his protection againſt the plunderers. It was the innovating genius of that Miniſter which

which engendered that Electoral Aſſembly, and that diviſion of the capital into ſixty diſtricts or rounds, for the appointment of their reſpective Electors, without reflecting that, in ſo immenſe a city as Paris, where the populace is too numerous not to be turbulent, it is always very dangerous to eſtabliſh, or point out to the People, a ſettled place of aſſembling in each quarter; it is removing the greateſt obſtacle to a general inſurrection. It was thus that this modern patch-work of an Electoral Aſſembly, and Aſſemblies of Diſtricts deviſed for the appointment of Deputies to the States-General, became the corner-ſtone of the Revolution.

While the Electors of the Diſtricts were completing the deſtruction of all the ſprings of the Government, and conſtructing a monſtrous power out of the wrecks of the Royal authority, the new Miniſters, imputing the outrages committed on the 12th to a handful of plunderers, who would be eaſily diſperſed, had no uneaſineſs about them, or ſhowed none, and were entirely engaged with the petty details of taking poſſeſſion of their reſpective houſes and offices. The Court, full of confidence in the Baron *de Breteuil*,

Breteuil participated their ſecurity. The Aſſembly, thunderſtruck at the diſmiſſion of Mr. *Necker*, ſpent their time in mournful complainings upon this pretended public calamity. The moſt moderate ſpeakers propoſed to preſent an Addreſs to the King to ſolicit his recall: others, conſidering Mr. *Necker* and the three miniſters who ſhared his diſgrace as the victims of deſpotiſm, were for voting them ſolemn teſtimonies of eſteem, regret, and gratitude. Count *Mirabeau*, who was equally certain of making whichever of theſe opinions he thought proper to ſupport, preponderate, and of injuring his popularity if he oppoſed them, kept a profound ſilence. He had not forgiven Mr. *Necker*, whom he no longer called any thing but a quack, for the affront of diſdaining his ſervices, and he had entered into an engagement at the *Breton* Club to neglect nothing that might turn him out. His apparent indifference at ſo critical a juncture aſtoniſhed all who were ignorant of the motives, when their attention was ſuddenly called to a different object by the reading of an Addreſs from the Electors of Paris, tending to obtain permiſſion to eſtabliſh a Bourgeois Guard.

The debate on the Addreſs from the Electors was interrupted and curtailed by the arrival of a packet from Paris, received by *M. de Lally*. The Aſſembly, alarmed at the ſituation of the capital, the account of which, far from being exaggerated in this diſpatch, was deficient and inaccurate in almoſt all the circumſtances, concluded their debates with the following Reſolution, in which not a word is ſaid of the diſmiſſed Miniſters:

" The National Aſſembly unanimouſly " reſolve, that a Deputation ſhall be ſent to " the King, to repreſent to him the dan- " gers which menace the Capital and the " Kingdom, the neceſſity of withdrawing " the troops, whoſe preſence exaſperates and " drives the People to deſpair, and of truſt- " ing the defence of the city to the bour- " geois militia. They reſolve alſo, that if " they obtain the King's promiſe to with- " draw the troops, and eſtabliſh the bour- " geois militia, they will ſend Deputies to " Paris to carry the conſoling news, and to " aſſiſt in reſtoring tranquillity."

The members of the Aſſembly who were to compoſe this Deputation were named by the Preſident, to the number of forty, and repaired immediately to the Palace. The

King, informed of what had been paſſing in the Aſſembly, admitted the Deputation as ſoon as they were announced. The Archbiſhop of *Vienne*, who was the ſpeaker, beginning with theſe words—"The National Aſſembly," his Majeſty interrupted him, and ſaid—"Say the *States-General*." The prelate again beginning his ſpeech, dared, in ſpite of the order he had juſt received, to repeat the ſame words he had uſed; and unfortunately the King was weak enough to ſuffer it. What could this Deputation have replied, if his Majeſty had had the firmneſs to ſay to them, "The Aſ-"ſembly I convoked is an Aſſembly of the "*States-General*; it is to that Aſſembly "that the Nation has deputed you; it is by "that title alone you are admitted to my "preſence; I will not ſuffer you to take "another; if you are not Deputies of the "*States-General*, I neither ought nor will "receive you—withdraw."

It is true, that, to ſpeak in this manner without increaſing the embarraſſments of his ſituation, the King ſhould have previouſly adopted with the firmeſt reſolution a general plan of conduct, in which the diſſolution of the Aſſembly ſhould have been determined,

termined, and the energetic measures to accompany and follow that determination should have been invariably settled. It was the part of the Ministers, and chiefly of the Baron *de Breteuil*, or of the Keeper of the Seals, to present this plan; and if, after the investigation of it in the Council, all the Ministers had insisted with vigour and unanimity upon the necessity of adopting it, there can be no doubt but that they would have prevailed with the King. But no such plan was ever proposed to his Majesty, and the new Ministry went on day after day in the manner of their predecessors.

The Archbishop of *Vienne* spoke with great energy upon the alarming state of the capital, of the danger there was that the whole kingdom would be soon agitated with the same troubles; proposed the removal of the troops, and the establishment of the bourgeois militia, as the only means of restoring order and tranquillity in Paris; and concluded by observing, that the changes that had taken place in the Ministry were the cause to which the present misfortunes were to be attributed.

The King, after reading the Resolution

which was put into his hands, made the following anſwer to the Deputation:

" I have already informed you of my in-
" tentions in regard to the meaſures which
" the diſorders of Paris have forced me to
" take. I alone am to judge of their neceſſity,
" and I cannot in this reſpect make any al-
" teration. Some towns have a guard for
" themſelves, but the extent of the capital
" does not allow of a guard of this kind.
" I make no doubt of the pureneſs of the
" motives which lead you to offer your ſer-
" vices on this affecting occaſion; but your
" preſence in Paris would do no good, and
" it is neceſſary here for the acceleration of
" your important labours, the continuance
" of which I recommend to you."

The unexpected firmneſs of this reply revived ſome hopes in the minds of the Royaliſts, and for a moment ſpread conſternation and doubt in thoſe of the ſeditious; but the audacity of the latter was much recruited by a propoſal from *M. de la Fayette* to declare the new Miniſters reſponſible for the preſent events, and for thoſe that might be the

the conſequence of them. This inſolent motion produced ſeveral others more or leſs ſeditious, which intoxicated the majority, and intimidated the minority to ſuch a degree, that the following Reſolution was paſſed without oppoſition:

" The Aſſembly, interpreter of the Na-
" tion's will, declare, that Mr. *Necker*, and
" the other Miniſters who have been lately
" removed, carry with them their eſteem
" and their regret; that, terrified at the
" fatal conſequences which may attend the
" King's anſwer, they will never ceaſe from
" inſiſting upon the removal of the troops
" aſſembled in an unuſual manner near
" Paris and Verſailles, and upon the eſtabliſh-
" ment of the bourgeois guards.

" They declare again, that there can be
" no intervenient agent between the King
" and the National Aſſembly.

" They declare, that the Miniſters and
" civil and military Officers in power are
" reſponſible for every attempt againſt the
" rights of the Nation, and againſt the De-
" crees of this Aſſembly;

" That the preſent Miniſters and Coun-
" ſellors of his Majeſty, of whatever rank
" and ſtate they may be, or whatever offices

" they may hold, are perſonally reſponſible " for the preſent misfortunes, and for all " thoſe that may follow;

" That as the public debt has been put " under the ſecurity of the French honour " and fidelity, and as the Nation does not " refuſe to pay the intereſt of it, no power " has a right to pronounce the infamous " word *Bankruptcy*; no power has a right " to hurt the public credit, under what " form or denomination ſoever.

" Laſtly, the National Aſſembly declare, " that they perſiſt in their preceding Reſo- " lutions, and eſpecially in thoſe of the " 17th, 20th, and 23d of June laſt.

" The preſent Reſolution ſhall be ſent by " the Preſident of the Aſſembly to the King, " and ſhall be printed and publiſhed."

It was alſo reſolved, that a copy of this Reſolution ſhould be tranſmitted to the four Miniſters who had been diſmiſſed, and that the Aſſembly ſhould continue ſitting the whole night through. The advanced age of the Archbiſhop of *Vienne* not permitting him to continue ſo long without interruption the laborious duties of the Preſident's office, the Aſſembly adjourned to one of their Committee Chambers to appoint a Vice-Preſident,

and *M. de la Fayette* was chosen by a great majority of votes. The *Palais-Royal* Patriots also constituted themselves permanent in the garden and adjacent coffee-houses.

If at this critical moment the Assembly, consulting only the dangers of the State and the Monarchy, had wished to save one and the other, they had but one part to take, that of rallying freely and entirely on the side of the King, and of employing all the means in their power to give or to restore to the Government the full authority which it stood in need of to suppress so extensive an insurrection. But whether it was that the firmness of the King's reply raised an apprehension in the Assembly, that it was the intention of the new Ministers to dissolve or remove them to some other place, or that they were led by the hope of acquiring greater popularity, and of augmenting their own power with all that they stripped from the King, they had the effrontery, or rather the treacherous baseness, to rally on the side of the rebels, by renewing their first acts of treason*, and by adding to this crime, that of countenancing, in the same

* The Resolutions of the 17th, 20th, and 23d of June.

Reſolution, inſinuations the moſt fitted to throw contempt upon his Majeſty's authority, and render his intentions odious. Hiſtory, therefore, in ranking this Reſolution among the moſt criminal acts of treaſon will give it the only title that it deſerves.

CHAP-

CHAPTER VIII.

Falſe Alarms—Violent Murmurs againſt the Delay of the Electoral Aſſembly in procuring Arms — The Hotel-des-Invalides attacked and plundered—The Baſtile aſſaulted and taken—Death of M. de Launay—Several Invalids maſſacred, others hanged at a Lamp-poſt, and the reſt ſaved by the French Guards—Priſoners found in the Baſtile—Aſſaſſination of M. de Fleſſelles—His Head and M. de Launay's carried to the Palais-Royal on Pikes by the Populace—Terror of one of the French Guards who was borne in Triumph in the Train—Reflections upon Lettres de Cachet, and upon State-Priſons —The Affair of the Cardinal de Rohan and of Madame de la Mothe.

DURING the night between the 13th and 14th the plunder was ſuſpended at Paris,

Paris, and the town would have been very tranquil, if the alarm had not been kept up by gangs of worthleſs people running from ſtreet to ſtreet, bawling ſometimes to ſet out lights, at others to extinguiſh them; which obliged the inhabitants to be conſtantly going to their windows to manage their candles according to the orders of thoſe vagabonds. The retreat of the troops that were encamped in the *Champs Elyſées* alſo excited great uneaſineſs. It was ſuppoſed that Marſhal *Broglio* had withdrawn them to form a junction with other regiments, in order to attack the capital with a greater force at a moment when it was leaſt expected.

The diſtricts, as their battalions were formed, ſent deputation upon deputation to the *Hotel-de-Ville* to aſk for arms, and only obtained ſome bad pikes, with which they were obliged to be contented till they could get better. Thoſe who were in the greateſt hurry bought for little or nothing guns, piſtols, and cutlaſſes, from the plunderers, who had taken them in the houſes and ſhops which they had pillaged. I have ſeen a very handſome double-barrelled gun which on that day was ſold for ten ſhillings: half-

half-a-crown was the price of a common one; and a piſtol or cutlaſs coſt no more than ſix-pence.

In this manner the hired banditti, who had taken the lead in all the inſurrections of the two preceding days, diſarmed with their own will, and having executed their commiſſion at Paris, left it to ſpread themſelves over the neighbouring towns, and through the provinces, where they propagated, with the greateſt rapidity, the ſpirit of inſurrection and rebellion.

Notwithſtanding the retreat of the brigands, Paris continued in a ſtate of extreme fermentation. Loud murmurs were raiſed againſt the dilatorineſs of the Electoral Aſſembly in procuring arms. They were accuſed of negligence, of incapacity, and even of treachery, in ſpite of the evident impoſſibility of procuring 48,000 ſtand of arms in one day. It was much eaſier to find a Commander in Chief for this new bourgeois militia; and the Electors had already appointed to that rank an officer retired from ſervice, whoſe recommendation aroſe far leſs from his talents than from his patriotic boaſting; his name was *La Salle D'Offemond*. "But what uſe," cried the People,

ple, " have we for a Commander in Chief, if we have no arms?" It was known that there was a great quantity at the Invalids. A few days before all that were at the Arſenal had been ſent thither, and the *Palais-Royal* haranguers never ceaſed perſuading their auditors to go and ſeize them. This ſoon becoming the general wiſh, and the chief cry of the immenſe crowd with which the *Place de Greve* was filled, *Ethys de Corny*, the King's Solicitor of the former Municipality, iſſued from the *Hotel-de-Ville*, and, putting himſelf at the head of the People, led them to the *Hotel-des-Invalides*. He preſented himſelf firſt at the iron-gate, and, finding it locked, deſired to ſpeak with the Governor. *M. de Sombreuil* came out to him, attended by the Staff Officers; and perceiving a great number of the citizens among the multitude who accompanied *Ethys de Corny*, he ordered the gate to be opened to him, and allowed him to bring in a few others. The gate was ſhut as ſoon as they entered; and the King's Solicitor informed *M. de Sombreuil* that the object of his coming was to demand a general ſearch through the Hotel, and to diſtribute among the citizens all the arms they could find. *M. de Sombreuil*

breuil immediately replied, that he was bound by the King's orders, and the duties of his office, to refuſe theſe demands.

During this interview, the People, impatient, never ceaſed crying out, "*Make haſte, we want arms.*" Theſe clamours made *Ethys de Corny* more urgent in his demand, and *M. de Sombreuil* more timid in his refuſal. The latter becoming more and more doubtful what part he ought to take, determined to retire and confer with the chief officers. This act of extreme weakneſs being miſtaken by the multitude for an act of vigour, they ſaid and believed that *M. de Sombreuil* had only retired to order out the troops, and advance the artillery. In an inſtant the aſſailants ſprang into the ditch in crowds, croſſed it, climbed the iron-rails, and leaped into the court, howling dreadfully all the time. The little judgment *M. de Sombreuil* had left forſook him upon this irruption, which he did not expect. He had orders to repel force by force, if the brigands approached the Invalids. "But," ſaid he, "the citizens are "not the brigands, and my inſtructions ſay "nothing in regard to the citizens. I have "not time to ſend or wait for freſh orders,

"and

" and I am not permitted to interpret what " I do not find in thoſe that have been " given me." This reaſoning, or rather this doting of age and timidity, determined him to allow the citizens and their retinue to enter, without conſidering that citizens who play the part of ruffians, and who place themſelves at their head, ought to be diſtinguiſhed from them only to be the more ſeverely puniſhed. However, he returned into the court, and ordered the gates to be opened to the People. In a moment all the halls of the Hotel, the cellars, the garrets, the rooms, and the gardens, were given up to the ſearch of ſeven or eight thouſand furies. In leſs than five minutes the cannon were all carried off with incredible rapidity. The Invalids themſelves were eager to point out all the repoſitories. The moſt conſiderable was in the vault under the dome; thither the crowd poured down with as much confuſion as eagerneſs. Thoſe who went firſt attempting to return with the muſkets they had ſeized, were thrown down by thoſe whom they met running in ſearch of arms; while ſome, to ſave themſelves the trouble of going down, fought with thoſe who were coming up for the guns they had taken.

taken. In this tumult the candles with which the vault had been lighted went out, and darkneſs increaſed the confuſion: not a gun remained, but next day ſeveral wounded perſons and ſome dead bodies were found in the place. The arms of every kind lodged at the Hotel and Guard-houſe were carried off, together with the drums and colours; they did not even leave the ſentry a ſword to mount guard. The pillage, however, was confined to arms; the furniture and other effects were not touched.

This expedition, which was completed in leſs than half an hour, enabled the Pariſians to arm a great part of their militia; all the important poſts were provided with guard-houſes and with cannon; a conſiderable body well-armed was drawn up in order of battle oppoſite the regiments encamped in the *Champ-de-Mars*, and ſeemed to defy them. From this time no carriage was allowed to go out of Paris, and all that were met by the patrols, who were marching through the ſtreets in great numbers, were ſent to the *Hotel-de-Ville*. Several horſemen were alſo ſtopped, and among others two couriers from the Court, who were taken before the Electors, aſſembled in a

per-

permanent Committee. The diſpatches found on the couriers were ſeized, opened, and publicly read. One of theſe diſpatches was addreſſed to the Marquis *de Launay*, Governor of the Baſtile, and contained orders to hold out to the laſt extremity.

It was the more important for the rebels to be acquainted with this order, and to prevent its being delivered, as their plan was to follow up the attack of the *Hotel-de-Ville* by that of the Baſtile. Beſides the certainty of finding arms in that State-Priſon, they eſteemed the reduction of it as the moſt deciſive revolutionary act. None indeed could be better fitted to excite madneſs in the People, who were ſo ſtupid as to be perſuaded that their liberty was the grand object of all the exceſſes of which they were rendered the inſtrument, and accordingly the attack of the Baſtile was determined upon. This famous achievement, ſo ridiculouſly celebrated by the Pariſian populace, ſtamped the Revolution with that character of atrocity which it has retained, and in this light deſerves to be known in all its details.

On the 14th of July, by day-break, ſeven hot-headed young men, excited by the orators

tors who had ſpent the night at the *Palais-Royal*, ran to the Baſtille, and deſired to ſpeak with the Governor, under pretence of informing themſelves whether he had any arms at his diſpoſal, and would truſt the inhabitants of Paris with them, to enable them to defend themſelves againſt the brigands. The guard having anſwered them firmly, that his orders were to admit nobody, they went away. Some minutes after, a more numerous deputation, alſo compoſed of young men, was turned back in the ſame manner. A conſiderable mob then appeared, and attempted to enter the court by force. This the guard oppoſed, and informed them, by the Governor's order, that thoſe who did not retire ſhould be fired upon. This declaration being thrice repeated in vain, *M. de Launay* ordered ſome muſkets to be fired from the Caſtle, which, without hurting any body, produced the deſired effect of diſperſing the mob. But at the noiſe of the diſcharge, new groups were formed and came up from all quarters; ſome ſaying they were ſent by the *Hotel-de-Ville*, and others by the Diſtricts. *M. de Launay* gave orders for the admiſſion of one *Belon*, an officer, who headed the party that

pretended to be ſent by the *Hotel-de-Ville*, and *Thuriot de la Roziere*, an attorney, who was at the head of a deputation from a diſtrict. He received them very politely, declaring that he had no hoſtile intention, and ſhould only defend himſelf if he were attacked. He was alſo imprudent enough to tell them, that the cannon on the platforms were not loaded, and had been removed from the embraſures, and even allowed them to go and ſee that it was ſo:—a permiſſion they did not heſitate to make uſe of. His condeſcenſion went ſtill farther, and he made the officers and ſoldiers on guard at the Caſtle ſwear before them, not to make uſe of their arms unleſs they ſhould be attacked. The Deputies went away completely ſatisfied with the pacific diſpoſition of the Governor, and aſſured him that they would go and diſperſe the crowds. But theſe were ſo greatly augmented during the negotiation, that *Belon* and *Thuriot*, on coming out of the Baſtille, found themſelves in the midſt of people who, not knowing them, took them for impoſtors or traitors; who were more diſpoſed to hang them than to liſten to them, and it was with great difficulty they eſcaped with their lives. While they were

ſtruggling with the crowd, two perſons who had got upon the top of a perfumer's houſe, made their way to the wall adjoining the guard-houſe, ſituated cloſe to the draw-bridge, leading to the Government court: upon this wall they ſat themſelves aſtride, and in that manner drawing themſelves acroſs to the guard-houſe, leaped into the court. There they found nobody, for the Governor had ordered all the garriſon into the Caſtle. The example of the two men was very ſoon followed by ſome of their comrades; and the firſt thing they did, was to lower the little draw-bridge, fixed beſide the great one, and intended for people on foot. As ſoon as this was done, ſeveral perſons armed with hatchets joined them, and ſet about hammering down the great draw-bridge, which cut off the principal entrance to the Caſtle. They ſoon broke or unlooſed the chain of it, and in falling it cruſhed one man to death, and wounded another. In an inſtant the crowd preſſed into the court, made their way into the Governor's houſe, and ran with fury through all the apartments, breaking and ruining whatever could not be pillaged.

M. de Launay might have eaſily deſtroyed all theſe banditti, if he had been willing to

fire upon them with caniſter-ſhot: he might alſo have prevented their breaking in, by beating down the wall next the guard-houſe with a few cannon-balls, or even by ſhooting thoſe who were climbing along it: but he only wiſhed to frighten them; and thinking that a diſcharge of muſketry would be enough to diſperſe the crowd that filled his houſe and the Government court, he ordered it to be made; but the fire could only be directed upon the people in the court, and in the moats. This diſcharge wounded ſome, and put a great number to flight. The boldeſt betook themſelves behind the walls and under the gates, while the fugitives ran about reporting every where, that the garriſon was keeping up a rolling fire of muſketry and artillery on the people. If what they ſaid had been true—if the firſt diſcharge had been immediately followed by two or three others, and accompanied with ſome fire from the cannon, this pretended ſiege of the Baſtille would only have been famous in hiſtory for the cowardice of the aſſailants.

The exaggerated reports which were carried to the *Hotel-de-Ville* of what was paſſing in the *Faugbourg St. Antoine*, determined the Electors to ſend a deputation to *M. de*

M. de Launay, and at that very moment freſh crowds were drawing the cannon that had been taken in the morning from the Invalides to the Baſtille. Thoſe cannon were ſoon planted at different points, and played upon the Caſtle; while from the windows and tops of the neighbouring houſes the Invalids who from time to time appeared upon the platform were ſhot. In this manner was the garriſon of the Baſtille, conſiſting of a hundred and fourteen men, of which number eighty-two were Invalids, and thirty-two Swiſs belonging to the regiment of *Salis-Damade*, attacked by near thirty thouſand men and women, among whom was a great number of the French Guards.

When nothing more was left in the Governor's houſe to be pillaged or burnt, the houſe itſelf was ſet on fire, and that and the guard-houſe were in flames when the deputation ſent by the Electors arrived, with a white flag before them, at the firſt gate of the Caſtle. The people crowding round the Deputies prevented them from advancing, under pretence of the dangers to which they would be expoſed. *M. de Launay*, on ſeeing the white flag, had flattered himſelf that

they were coming to propoſe ſome means of conciliation to him; but this hope being ſoon deſtroyed by the flag becoming ſtationary, he ordered ſome muſkets to be fired upon the incendiaries, who were at firſt frightened; but who finding that no perſon was killed, recovered themſelves, and returned to their work with more violence than ever: they brought up two pieces of artillery, and planted them at the opening of the avenue to the court of the Caſtle. *M. de Launay*, on obſerving theſe diſpoſitions, ordered another volley of muſketry, and a cannon loaded with caniſter-ſhot to be diſcharged from the top of one of the towers into the ſtreet *St. Antoine*. The aſſailants were little diſconcerted by this; they were much more ruffled by the many accidents produced by their unſkilfulneſs and inexperience in handling fire-arms, and particularly the cannon.

The Deputies of the Electoral Aſſembly having returned to the *Hotel-de-Ville* without having been able to execute their commiſſion, the Permanent Committee ſent a ſecond deputation, at the head of which was the Abbé *Fauchet*; but theſe were ſtill more eaſily diſſuaded by the people from proceeding: for the Abbé *Fauchet* having leſs courage

courage than effrontery, very readily believed that there was great danger in going forward; on which he returned to the *Hotel-de-Ville*, where he gave the moſt dreadful account of the *ſcenes of horror* he had witneſſed. A third deputation was ſent to the Baſtille, with as little ſucceſs as the former. The inſtructions of the two laſt were drawn up in the following manner:

"The Permanent Committee of the Pari-
"ſian Militia, taking into conſideration
"that there ought to be no military force in
"Paris but that of the Town, charge the
"Deputies whom they ſend to the Marquis
"*de Launay*, Commander of the Baſtille,
"to aſk him if he is diſpoſed to receive
"into that fortreſs the Pariſian Militia,
"to defend it in concert with the troops
"already there, and to be under command
"of the Town. Done at the *Hotel-de-*
"*Ville*, July 14th, 1789. Signed *De*
"*Fleſſelles*, Prevôt and Preſident of the
"Commitee: *De la Vigne*, Preſident of the
"Electors, &c. &c."

M. de Launay, not receiving, and not being able to receive any orders from the Court, was driven to the alternative of making a horrible carnage among the aſſailants,

by defending himſelf vigorouſly to the laſt extremity, or of expoſing his garriſon and himſelf to be maſſacred by ſurrendering. His duty and ſafety preſcribed the former, his melancholy fate impelled him to the latter. He made the drums beat a parley, and fixed a napkin to the end of a bayonet upon one of the towers to ſhow that he deſired to capitulate. This ſignal of ſubmiſſion and peace, far from pacifying the aſſailants, excited in them a joy of a furious and ſanguinary nature, which they manifeſted by repeated volleys of muſketry and artillery. *M. de Launay*, judging by this ferocity what kind of people they were into whoſe hands he was about to fall, on being aſked by the garriſon, what propoſal they ſhould make, anſwered, "Stipulate, Not to be maſſacred." Upon this reply, one of the officers wrote the following words, with a pencil, on a piece of paper, and paſſed it through the ſmall opening of the drawbridge: "We have twenty thouſand weight "of powder; and if you do not accept our "capitulation, we will blow up the garri- "ſon, and all the quarters about it." Showing this to the aſſailants, he cried as loud as he could, "We are willing to ſurrender, "provided

" provided we are aſſured that the troops " ſhall not be maſſacred."

From the wideneſs of the ditch, the paper was at too great a diſtance to be read; but the People managed to reach it by means of a long plank, puſhed towards the draw-bridge. The firſt man who attempted to get upon the plank fell into the moat. A perſon of the name of *Maillard*, whom we have ſince ſeen playing a principal part in all the commotions of the capital, had the dexterity to advance near enough to the bridge to reach the paper, which he gave to one of his comrades, who, fixing it to the point of his ſword, raiſed it ſufficiently high to be read by the aſſailants. As ſoon as the contents were known, they cried out one and all—" On the faith of French ſoldiers, " we accept it, and will do you no harm; " let down the bridge."

M. de Launay confiding in this promiſe, ordered at firſt the draw-bridge of the little gate to be let down. From fifteen to twenty perſons immediately ruſhed in, and the reſt of the crowd would have followed, had not ſome of the French Guards prevented it, by placing themſelves at the outer end of the bridge. The ſentry who opened the little gate,

gate, aſked the firſt who came up, what they wanted. "The Baſtille to be ſurrendered," they replied; and at the ſame inſtant the great-draw-bridge was lowered. Before it was quite down, a grenadier of the French Guards ſprang upon it, and was followed by the populace.

The garriſon appeared without their arms, and making a lane; the Invalids to the right, and the Swiſs in their undreſs to the left, received this immenſe crowd, with their hats off, clapping their hands, and ſhouting "*Bravo!*" repeatedly, as if it had been truly a great act of bravery to enter through an open and undefended gate; for in that preciſely conſiſted the famous conqueſt of the Baſtille. They who had conſtituted themſelves the leaders of that body of heroes deſiring to ſpeak with the Governor, he was pointed out to them by a ſoldier. They went up to him, and, after groſſly inſulting him, informed him that they were going to conduct him to the *Hotel-de-Ville*. One of them led the way, carrying the capitulation on the point of his ſword; he was followed by *Maillard*, who had taken poſſeſſion of the colours. After them came *M. de Launay*, in a grey coat, and

and without his hat, between two men, who held him by the arms, and who had promiſed him that they would protect him*. They did in fact all they could to ſhield him from the rage of the furies that formed their retinue, and who contending for the honour of being the firſt to ſtrike their priſoner, or rather their victim, were emulouſly thruſting the points of their ſwords into his face, arms, legs, and every part of his body that they could reach. One of his conductors, named *Hulin*, through an emotion of generoſity, very remarkable in the midſt of ſo much barbarity, took off his own hat and put it on the Governor's head, in the hope of his being leſs known, and that this ſtratagem, deceiving the fury of the aſſaſſins, would ſuſpend the effects of it; but the blows were then made at himſelf, and he would have fallen under them, if *M. de Launay* had not given him back his hat. On entering the *Place-de-Greve* the Governor was torn from his conductors, who were too much exhauſted with fatigue

* Their names were *Hulin* and *Arné*: the latter was the Grenadier of the French Guards who was the firſt to leap upon the draw-bridge before it was quite let down.

to

to be able any longer to reſiſt the crowd that ſurrounded them. He was maſſacred in an inſtant, and his head being ſevered from his body, was fixed on the end of a pike. It was then five o'clock in the afternoon.

Thus did the conquerors of the Baſtille perform, with reſpect to *M. de Launay, the promiſe unanimouſly given on the faith of French ſoldiers, to do no harm to the garriſon.* Moſt of the Invalids remaining in the courts of the Caſtle were put to death in the moſt mercileſs manner. Two of thoſe wretches were dragged to the *Place-de-Greve*, and ſoon hanged to the iron that ſupported the lamp oppoſite to the *Hotel-de-Ville*, under the buſt of *Louis* XIV. They were the firſt who underwent this kind of popular execution, which has been ſince called *lanterner* to *lantern*, or *to put to the lantern*. The Swiſs of *Salis-Damade*, from their undreſs, and the appearance of joy with which they cried *Bravo*, were taken for the State-priſoners teſtifying their gratitude to their deliverers. It was to this miſtake, of which they had no ſuſpicion, that they were indebted for their lives and for all the careſſes heaped upon them. Had they ſuſpected the motive, they might have retired immediately without the leaſt

leaſt danger; but not being at all aware of it, they took the reſolution of putting themſelves into the hands of ſeveral of the French Guards, who had already taken under their protection ſome Invalids, fortunate enough to have eſcaped from their aſſaſſins.

It was with great difficulty that the French Guards who had taken charge of theſe priſoners, ſaved them from the fury of the People, and carried them as far as the *Hotel-de-Ville*. They led them into the Hall where the Electors were holding their ſitting. One of thoſe pretended Magiſtrates, a worthy repreſentative of the cannibals, who from the *Place-de-Greve* were roaring out for freſh victims, was brutal enough to ſay to theſe wretched priſoners, the moment he ſaw them appear, "You have fired upon "your fellow-citizens; you deſerve to be "hanged, and hanged you ſhall be immediately."—"Ay, ay," echoed a thouſand voices, "hang them all; away with all of "them to the lantern!" This ſentence of death, however, was not executed, being prevented by the interpoſition of the French Guards, one of whom addreſſing the Electors ſaid, "Theſe ſoldiers are our priſoners; we requeſt they may not be taken out

"of

" of our hands. If our ſervices have been " uſeful to you, now is the time we wiſh " to receive the reward of them, by having " our priſoners pardoned." The acclamation of *Pardon! pardon!* repeated by all the French Guards who had eſcorted them, was alſo vociferated by that very crowd who the moment before were making the Hall reſound with the moſt ſanguinary cries. The Hiſtory of the French Revolution will furniſh many other examples of the extreme rapidity with which the populace paſs from the exceſs of barbarity to mild and humane feelings; they are ever tigers or lambs, according to the impulſe given them, and never one or the other by halves; *to do every thing for them and nothing by them*, is the counſel that wiſdom gives to every Government; *to do every thing by them and nothing for them*, is the ſecret of every Revolution.

While the French Guards at the *Hotel-de-Ville* were ſaving the remainder of the garriſon of the Baſtille, the Populace, who were ſtill before the Caſtle, continued firing upon it, both with cannon and muſkets, as if all the doors of it had not been opened. In one of the Halls a very bloody conflict took

took place between thoſe who had gone in at firſt, and thoſe who came in afterwards, and who, taking the former for a party of the garriſon, kept up a briſk fire upon them, which was returned by the others, who alſo thought themſelves attacked by the garriſon. This raſhneſs, and the ſtupid obſtinacy of thoſe firing on the outſide, did much more execution than had been done by the fire of the garriſon, which was ſo moderate and ill-directed, that the moſt democratic journaliſts have not ſtated the total loſs of the aſſailants on that day, at more than fifty men, and moſt of thoſe were killed by their comrades.

In the towers of the Baſtille there were but ſeven priſoners, whoſe names were *Pujade*, *Béchade*, *La Roche*, *La Caurege*, the Count *de Solages*, *Tavernier*, and *Whyt:* the four firſt were accuſed of forging Bills of Exchange, ſome accepted by *Tourton* and *Ravel*, and others by *Gallet de Santerre*; the Count *de Solages* was confined at the requeſt of his family, on charges of the moſt ſerious nature; and the two laſt were both ſo deranged, that the Electors ſent them the next day to Charenton, to be confined among the mad people. *Tavernier* was

was the natural ſon of the late *Paris Duverney*, the brother of *Paris de Montmartel*.

Here then was the immenſe number of victims that were ſaid and believed to be *crowded by hundreds in the dungeons of deſpotiſm*. Thoſe pretended dungeons were chambers as agreeable as the chambers of a priſon can be, and the envenomed reports publiſhed by ſome who have been priſoners in the Baſtile, after their enlargement, and particularly by Count *Mirabeau* and *Linguet*, prove that they were better fed there than they could have been at home. There were State priſons in ſeveral provinces of the Kingdom, and eſpecially in Britany. The number of theſe, and the expeditious and arbitrary form of impriſonment by *Lettres de Cachet*, having been the chief ground of the opinion generally adopted among foreign nations reſpecting the pretended deſpotiſm of the French Government, it is incumbent upon me to ſay here, that while I was Intendant of Britany, I received an expreſs order from the King to viſit all the State-priſons in that province, to receive from every priſoner a ſtatement reſpecting himſelf, and to tranſmit an account of

of it to the Miniſter, the Baron *de Breteuil*. This order was accompanied with the ampleſt inſtructions reſpecting the motives of juſtice and humanity by which it had been dictated, and the manner in which his Majeſty wiſhed his paternal intentions to be executed. The circular letter which contained thoſe inſtructions was addreſſed to all the Intendants: I obeyed it, as was my duty, with the utmoſt ſtrictneſs, and I atteſt upon my honour, that there was not in Britany a ſingle State-priſoner whoſe confinement was not an act of juſtice, and in many inſtances an act of benevolence or mercy.

I ſhall now return to the ſequel of the events of the 14th. *M. de Fleſſelles*, who had not quitted the *Hotel-de-Ville*, where he was Preſident of the Aſſembly of Electors, and ſigned all their Reſolutions, became ſuddenly ſuſpected from the conſternation he manifeſted, and with which the ſight of ſo many horrors might well ſtrike him. He was vaguely accuſed of treachery, without any one being able to produce againſt him a ſingle fact that deſerved the reproach. The Electors themſelves were the chief accom-

plices in the project of murder that was forming against their President. One of them said to him, "There are some very "sad reports in circulation about you: I "advise you to justify yourself." *M. de Fleffelles*, totally absorbed by the shock he had received from the massacre of *M. de Launay*, made no reply to this address, which he perhaps did not hear. *Garan de Coulon*, another Elector, interpreting his silence into guilt, called to him furiously—"*M. de Fleffelles*, you have betrayed the "Country, and the Country abandons you." Irritated by this attack, *M. de Fleffelles* rising hastily said, "I see very well, Gentle-"men, that I am not pleasing to you; I shall "retire." On leaving the Hall he found himself in the midst of a troop of furies, who pressed round him, overwhelming him with questions and threats. "I cannot, "Gentlemen, answer you all at once," said he; "come some of you to my house, and "I will acquaint you with my conduct, the "motives of it, and give you every expla-"nation you can desire." But he had scarcely passed the arcade of *St. John's* Church, when one of those villains, clap-

ping a piſtol to the nape of his neck, ſaid as he fired it, "Traitor, you ſhall go no far-"ther." He fell dead on the ſpot.

The Electors hoped to extenuate the horror of this aſſaſſination, by cauſing it to be conſidered as a natural and almoſt lawful vengeance, for a treachery, the proof of which they pretended to have. In fact, they declared, that when *M. de Launay* was arreſted, a letter had been found in his pocket from *M. de Fleſſelles*, containing this expreſſion: "I am amuſing the Pariſians with "cockades and promiſes; hold out till "night, and you will receive a reinforce-"ment." But this ſuppoſed letter, which, had it exiſted, they would not have failed to preſerve very carefully, was never ſeen by any body; and I heard *M. Bailly* himſelf ſay, in a viſit he paid me when he left the Mayoralty, that he had no knowledge of it, and that it was not in his power to refer to any one who had told him that he had read it.

The heads of *de Launay* and *de Fleſſelles*, with thoſe of ſome of the other victims of this dreadful day, were placed on pikes, and paraded through the ſtreets and at the *Palais-Royal*, followed by an immenſe

crowd. In the retinue were ſome perſons carried on litters, and among others a French Guard, crowned with laurel, and ornamented with a *croix de St. Louis*, but whoſe wild looks proclaimed a man leſs flattered than frightened at all the honours conferred upon him. This ſoldier, whoſe name was *Dubois*, led more by the thirſt of wine than the thirſt of glory, had taken his poſt, from the commencement of the attack upon the Baſtille, at a public-houſe, whence he iſſued, half-drunk, an hour after the populace were in poſſeſſion of the Caſtle. The particulars which he had heard related of the great victory juſt gained by the People, excited his curioſity to ſee the field of battle. He went forward to the moats, and ſtopped mechanically before one of the towers, the height of which he was ſtupidly exploring, when ſuddenly the workmen in the Fauxbourg, deceived by his regimentals, ran up to him, ſuppoſing him to be one of the heroes who had moſt diſtinguiſhed themſelves in the *famous ſiege*. One puts a crown of laurel on his head, another decorates his button-hole with a *croix de St. Louis*, which he had taken from an Officer of the garriſon whom he had aſſaſſinated, and all join in forcing

forcing him away with them to the *Place-de-Greve*, in ſpite of his refuſal and reſiſtance, which they took for modeſty. The next day he told a tradeſman, who had entertained him at the concluſion of the day, that he had ſuffered the moſt bitter anguiſh till he eſcaped from the hands of thoſe furies; for he thought that they had put him upon the litter only to ſecure his perſon, and that the proceſſion in which he was figuring in ſo remarkable a manner would end by his being hanged, and his head added to thoſe that were carried before him. When he recovered from his fright and from his drunkenneſs, he was honeſt enough to carry the *croix de St. Louis*, with which they had decorated him, to the *Hotel-de-Ville*.

On another litter was an old man, with a bald head, and a long white beard falling to the middle of his cheſt. This was the unfortunate mad perſon named *Whyt*, one of the ſeven priſoners found in the Baſtille. The regiſters of that State priſon having been all either burnt or ſtolen, it is almoſt impoſſible to know whether this old man was mad when he was put into the Baſtille, or whether the diſtemper was owing to too long a

confinement; but this uncertainty has not prevented the factious and the ſlanderers of the Government from adopting and crediting the latter opinion, as the more probable. We ought not to confound with theſe people the rational and moderate men, who think, that under a Deſpotic King, or in the hands of a violent, inſenſible, or wicked Miniſtry, the *Lettres de Cachet* were, or might ſoon be made, the inſtrument of the moſt odious tyranny. This inconteſtable truth was doubtleſs a very powerful reaſon, not for annulling entirely the uſe of *Lettres de Cachet*, but for limiting it, by ſubjecting it to rules the moſt proper to preclude the danger of it; for there would be no means of authority left to a Government, if all thoſe were proſcribed which deſpotiſm may abuſe. No one is more convinced than myſelf that the authority of Kings, that their very beneficence, ought never to be arbitrary; but I am no leſs convinced of another truth, which *Louis* XVI. has inſerted in his immortal Teſtament, and that is, "That a "King cannot enforce the laws, and do the "good which his heart prompts, unleſs he "be poſſeſſed of neceſſary authority; and "that

" that otherwiſe, being fettered in his ope-
" rations, and inſpiring no reſpect, he is
" more hurtful than uſeful."

I have ſaid too much of the Baſtille, not to awaken the recollection of a celebrated impriſonment, which, though it took place about three years prior to the Revolution, is no leſs connected with the Hiſtory of it than with that of *Louis* XVI. The attention which that exertion of power excited throughout Europe, has given too much intereſt to the circumſtances that are known of it, to ſuffer thoſe that are unknown to be conſidered as indifferent, or as miſplaced in theſe Memoirs. But not to interrupt the narrative of more ſerious as well as more recent events, I ſhall throw them into a note, as I ſhould have given them in evidence before the Parliament of Paris, had I been called upon as a witneſs in the unfortunate affair of the Cardinal *de Rohan*, and *Madame de La Motte* *.

* See the Notes, No. ii.

CHAPTER IX.

Want of Foreſight in the Miniſters—Conduct of the Aſſembly—The King conſents to the Removal of the Troops—Deputation from the Electors of Paris to the Aſſembly—Falſe Account given by them—New Deputation from the Aſſembly to the King—His Majeſty's Anſwer—Reſolution adopted by the Aſſembly—Plan and Meaſures of the Factious—Committee of Montrouge—Cowardice of the Duke of Orleans—Confuſion—Alarms at Night—Ridiculous Fears of the Pariſians—The King goes to the Aſſembly and grants whatever they demand—His Majeſty's Speech—The Preſident's Reply—Great Joy—The Aſſembly attend the King

King back to the Palace, and ſend a numerous Deputation to Paris, for the Purpoſe of reſtoring Tranquillity.

THE communication between Verſailles and the capital being almoſt entirely ſtopped by the continual arreſts of the couriers and paſſengers, it was very late at night on the 14th of July, before the Aſſembly were informed of a part of the outrages committed at Paris. They only learned from one of their members, (the Viſcount *de Noailles*) who had been there, that the *Hotel-des-Invalides* had been pillaged, that the cannon and every gun found there had been carried off by the People; that the citizens were armed, and that there was a plan for attacking the Baſtille.

This news interrupted a debate, the object of which was to ſend a ſecond Deputation to the King, to demand the removal of the troops. The motion had been made by Count *Mirabeau*, and the Factious had taken previous meaſures to ſecure its ſucceſs, by publiſhing, by means of their emiſſaries, that the plan of the Miniſters was to inveſt the Hall with cannon on the following night; to increaſe the pay of the ſoldiers, in

in order to insure their allegiance; to block and bombard Paris, and so forth. *Mirabeau* also moved, that the Assembly should resolve, that they would attend to no other object until the troops collected in the capital and the neighbourhood, were entirely withdrawn. This motion was not adopted, but the former passed unanimously; and it was resolved, that the same Deputation who had gone to the King the day before, should now return to his Majesty, and demand the removal of the troops.

The King was not better informed than the Assembly, of the situation of the capital; the irruption made into the *Hotel-des-Invalides* was the only event he had heard of; and his Majesty was deliberating with his Ministers upon the measures to be taken, for preventing farther excesses, when the Deputation from the Assembly arrived at the Palace.

The want of a plan, the want of foresight, and the irresolution of the Ministers, placed the King in so critical a position, that he could not, without personal danger to himself and the Royal Family, either listen to, or reject the demand which the Assembly had the imprudence or dastardly treachery

to

to make. This reflection, and the King's natural repugnance to violent ſteps, determined him to conſent to the removal of the troops. The Deputation was admitted, and the King gave them the following Anſwer:

"I have been inceſſantly engaged on "every meaſure likely to reſtore tranquilli- "ty to Paris. I had, in conſequence, given "orders for the *Prevôt-des-Marchands* and "Municipal Officers to repair hither, that "I might concert with them the neceſſary "ſteps to be taken. Being ſince informed "of the formation of a bourgeois guard, I "have ordered the General Officers to put "themſelves at the head of that guard, to "aſſiſt it with their experience, and to ſe- "cond the zeal of the good citizens. I "have alſo ordered the troops that are in "the *Champ-de-Mars* to withdraw from "Paris. The uneaſineſs you expreſs on the "diſorders of that city muſt be felt by "every heart, and affects mine very deeply."

Before the return of the Deputation, for which the Aſſembly were waiting with the utmoſt impatience and uneaſineſs, two of the

the Electors of Paris sent by the Committee from the *Hotel-de-Ville*, presented themselves and demanded an audience. They had set out before the Bastille was thrown open and abandoned to the populace. The resolution by which they were deputed to the Assembly, and which was signed by *M. de Flesselles*, charged them to paint "the dreadful situation of the Capital; the disasters that had "happened in the neighbourhood of the "Bastille; the inefficacy of the Deputations "that had been sent to the Governor, with "a drum and flag as tokens of peace, to "desire that the cannon of the Bastille might "not be directed against the people; the "death of several citizens killed by the fire "from the Bastille; the people calling "loudly to besiege it, and the slaughter "that may be the consequence of it; and "to entreat the National Assembly to have "the goodness to consider in its wisdom, as "promptly as possible, the means of averting from Paris the horrors of civil war."

This resolution contained also the intention of the Committee to keep up a daily correspondence with the National Assembly.

The Speaker of the Deputation gave a very false account of what had passed at the Bastille,

Baſtille, particularly in accuſing *M. de Launay* of having allowed the Deputation, which appeared with a flag and drum in token of peace, to enter the court, and of then firing upon them. This pretended treachery excited a general clamour of indignation and horror throughout the Aſſembly; and *Mirabeau* called out furiouſly for the head of Marſhal *Broglio*.

The Archbiſhop of *Vienne* being ſtill at the Palace with the Deputation, *M. de la Fayette*, who was Preſident in his abſence, anſwered the Electors: "That the Aſſembly "were inceſſantly engaged, night and day, "on the means of preventing, or putting an "end to, the public misfortunes; and that a "numerous Deputation was gone at that "very time to the King, with the moſt ear-"neſt entreaties to remove the troops."

To leave no doubt in the minds of the Pariſians reſpecting the ſentiments of the Aſſembly, he invited the Deputies to be preſent at the debate on their demand. Here almoſt all the Deputies roſe at once, and propoſed that another Deputation ſhould be ſent to the King, to inform him of the new circumſtances reported by the Electors, and to inſiſt more ſtrongly

ſtrongly on the removal of the troops. At this moment the firſt Deputation entered, and read the King's anſwer: but far from being ſatisfied with it, it was regarded as a farther motive to diſpatch another Deputation immediately. It was not enough for the factious, that the King conſented to remove the troops that were in the *Champ de Mars;* it was neceſſary that thoſe in the environs ſhould alſo be ſent away; and ſuch was the wiſh that the new Deputation was charged to convey to his Majeſty.

It was then half after ten o'clock at night. The King, in conſternation at the ſcenes of horror that were paſſing at Paris, was conſulting with his Miniſters without being able to come to any final reſolution; for the freſh circumſtances of which they were every inſtant informed, continually changed the grounds of the queſtion. The Council were in this ſtate of irreſolution and embarraſſment when the next deputation arrived. They were immediately admitted. The Archbiſhop of *Paris*, who was their Speaker, painted the ſituation of the Capital in the moſt pathetic terms, conjured the King to yield to the wiſhes of the Aſſembly, and read to him the whole of the Reſolution of the

the Committee of the Electors. The King replied: "You rend my heart more and more "by the account you give me of the cala- "mities of Paris. It is not poſſible to be- "lieve, that the orders which have been "given to the troops are the cauſe of them. "You know the anſwer I gave to the pre- "ceding Deputation; I have nothing more "to add to it."

The emotion with which the King pronounced theſe words, was ſufficiently expreſſive of the grief he felt; the Deputation were deeply affected by it, and the Archbiſhop of *Paris* repreſented it to the Aſſembly in the propereſt manner to diſpoſe them to hear his Majeſty's anſwer without prejudice; but the Majority, which was compoſed of the moſt timid Deputies, coaleſcing through terror with the boldeſt, thought this anſwer ſtill inſufficient, and no one dared to utter or ſupport a different opinion. The two Electors ſtill preſent at the ſitting, waiting for an anſwer to the Deputation from the *Hotel-de-Ville*, requeſted to have one from the Aſſembly, who being able to ſuccour the rebels in no other way than by their Reſolutions, haſtened to adopt one that might ſatisfy them, and charged the two Deputies to carry

it

it to their colleagues. This Reſolution was as follows:

"The National Aſſembly, deeply affected "by the calamities which they had but too "plainly foreſeen, have never ceaſed re- "queſting of his Majeſty the full and ab- "ſolute retreat of the troops aſſembled in "an extraordinary manner in the Capital "and neighbourhood. They have again "ſent this day two Deputations to the "King on this ſubject, on which they have "been inceſſantly employed night and day. "They will take the ſame ſteps to-morrow, "and render them ſtill more preſſing if poſ- "ſible. They will never ceaſe repeating "them, and making new efforts, until they "meet the ſucceſs which they have a right "to expect from the juſtice of their de- "mand, and from the King's own heart "when its emotions are not ſuſpended by "impreſſions from others."

Can it be conceived, that during an inſurrection, in which the people armed and conſtantly committing acts of violence were every where but feebly reſiſted by the troops, the removal of theſe could have been conſidered and ſolicited by the Aſſembly as the only means of ſuppreſſing the inſurrection and pre-

preventing new ones? This is the kind of reaſoning that was uſed by the innocent ſhepherd who, attempting to gain the friendſhip of the wolves by confidence, ſhut up his dogs and left his fold open; by which he ſoon loſt his flock, and in the end was devoured himſelf: a fable which might be applied to the Revolution, if in this inſtance the conduct of the Aſſembly could be aſcribed to their *innocence*. But it was too clear that they neither wiſhed to ſuppreſs the inſurrection, nor prevent new ones; on the contrary, they wiſhed to enſure the triumph of the rebels, with whom they had already ſided by the Reſolution of the evening before—that of the 14th of the July being only the ſequel of it. From their union there reſulted a profuſion of crimes, of ſo ſerious a nature as to call upon Hiſtory to ſupply the want of criminal juſtice, by arraigning thoſe who ſhared in them, even through weakneſs; for weakneſs is never an excuſe for the crimes of High Treaſon.

Theſe Reſolutions were eſſentially connected with the plot which had produced the inſurrections of the Capital, of which the chief leaders were in the Aſſembly, and the *Palais-Royal* was their focus. The ob-

ject of the conſpirators was to raiſe the Duke of *Orleans* to the rank of Lieutenant-General of the Kingdom. That Prince, incapable from his defect of energy and character of being the leader of any party whatever, was indeed nothing more than the puppet of his Faction: he lent them his name, gave them his money, and left every thing to their management. They held their Secret Committees at Montrouge near Paris, and the elder *Mirabeau*, the Abbé *Sieyes*, *La Clos*, and *La Touche*, were at the head of them. From this Committee proceeded the inſtructions and the funds, which were given to truſty agents, who tranſmitted them to the incendiaries of the *Palais-Royal*, and to a great number of underlings, paid for ſeaſonably exciting inſurrections at Paris and throughout the kingdom; for correſponding with the army, diſpoſing it to defection; and for other manœuvres of the like nature. The inſurrection of the 12th of July, in which the cries of *Vive le Duc d'Orleans* were occaſionally ſhouted, and the outrages without number which diſgraced the following days, were only calculated to convince the King and his Miniſters, that the Duke of *Orleans* could alone reſtore calm to the

the Capital, and by his credit and influence put a ſtop to thoſe exceſſes, which his Majeſty had loſt the power of ſuppreſſing or of puniſhing. *Mirabeau* never doubted that the rank of Lieutenant-General of the Kingdom, applied for by that Prince leſs as a reward for any ſervice that merited it, than as the neceſſary means of doing ſervice, would be granted to him without the leaſt difficulty; and the only queſtion that remained, was to prevail upon him to aſk it, and *to compoſe his theme for him.* Theſe were the expreſſions made uſe of by *Mirabeau* himſelf in ſpeaking of this fact. It was then agreed that the Duke of *Orleans* ſhould preſent himſelf at the Council door while they were ſitting, that he ſhould deſire admiſſion on very urgent buſineſs, and which it was of the utmoſt conſequence to mention to the King; that he ſhould offer to go as Mediator between the King and the Capital; and that he ſhould make his appointment to the rank of Lieutenant-General of the Kingdom the eſſential condition of his mediation *.

* See for all theſe facts the Proceedings at the Chatelet againſt the outrages of the 5th and 6th of October, and particularly the Depoſition of *M. de Virieu*, Vol. I. page 213, No. 140.

The authors of this plan had no more conſulted the intereſts of the Duke of *Orleans* than his capacity, with which they had nothing to do. Their only object was to concentrate power, the nomination to offices, and above all, the diſpoſal of the funds of the Royal treaſure, in the Committee of Montrouge, who were to become his Majeſty's Miniſters, directed by *Mirabeau*, for whom the place of Prime Miniſter was reſerved. Nor even here were the views of the *Orleans* Faction bounded: the rank of Lieutenant-General of the Kingdom was only to be a ſtep for that Prince to mount the throne the moment the occaſion offered; and the progreſs of the Revolution was too rapid to allow that period to be conſidered as at a great diſtance.

The exiſtence of this horrible project is the leſs to be diſputed as *Mirabeau* himſelf avowed it in the Aſſembly; and puſhed his effrontery ſo far as to maintain, "that this "project was ſuch as every Citizen might "boaſt: that it was not only juſtifiable at "the period in which it was planned, but "that it was good in itſelf, and even laud-"able! Would you think it ſtrange," added he, "that a friend of the throne and

"of

" of liberty, on obſerving the horizon dark-
" ened, and judging better than the enthu-
" ſiaſt of the tendency of opinion, the ac-
" celeration of events, and the dangers of
" inſurrection, ſhould have ſaid to the
" vaunted Royaliſt, *Well, who denies you*
" *that the French are Monarchiſts? Who*
" *diſputes with you that France both needs*
" *and deſires a King? But a Louis XVII.*
" *will be King as well as Louis XVI.; and*
" *if the Nation can be perſuaded that*
" *Louis XVI. is an abettor and acceſſory*
" *of the exceſſes that have wearied their*
" *patience, they will call for a Louis*
" *XVII.!* The zealous ſupporter of Liberty
" would have pronounced theſe words with
" ſo much the more energy, *as he would*
" *have been better acquainted with circum-*
" *ſtances that might render his diſcourſe*
" *more efficacious.* And would he ap-
" pear to you a conſpirator, a bad citizen,
" or even a bad reaſoner?"

It was not to Jacobins, but in the tribune of the National Aſſembly that *Mirabeau* dared to utter theſe regicide expreſſions, in juſtification of himſelf; which at any other time, and any where but in France, would have

led him to the ſcaffold*. They diſcover but too plainly the object of the infamous calumnies which began at that time to be ſpread againſt the King, and more particularly againſt the Queen.

The Duke of *Orleans* having made himſelf thorough maſter of the *Theme* which the Committee of Montrouge had prepared for him, went on the 15th to the Palace, where he witneſſed the affliction and alarm ſpread by the news of the Baſtile being taken, and of the enormities that had been the conſequences of it. He ſurely could not have choſen a juncture more favourable to the demand he went to make: accordingly, he preſented himſelf at the door of the King's chamber, which was before the Council Hall, and, as the Baron *de Breteuil* was coming out of it, aſked him, with the moſt embarraſſed air, if he could not ſpeak with his Majeſty. "It is not poſſible," replied the Miniſter; "the King is juſt re-"tired to his apartments, and will ſee no-"body; but if you have any thing to aſk "of him, or to communicate to him, you

* This Speech is given at full length in the paper of the *Moniteur*, October 4, 1790.

"may

" may write to him and ſend me your letter, " which I will give to him this evening at " the Council, unleſs you think proper to " write directly to myſelf: I will either " ſhow your letter to the King, or I will tell " him any thing you deſire." He choſe to write to the Miniſter; but inſtead of daring to mention in his letter to the Baron *de Breteuil* the ſlighteſt pretenſions to the rank of Lieutenant-General of the Kingdom, he contented himſelf with begging that Miniſter to aſk the King, to permit him to go over to England *if affairs took a diſagreeable turn.*

The Duke of *Orleans*, too much aſhamed of his cowardice to confeſs it to his truſty friends, only told them that his demand was before the King, and that the Baron *de Breteuil* had undertaken to make the report of it to the Council which was to be held that very day, at ſeven o'clock in the evening. In conſequence one of them went and waited in the antichamber for the breaking up of the Council, to be the firſt informed of ſuch important news. The moment he perceived the Baron *de Breteuil*, he ran up to him, and eagerly aſked, *if the affair of the Duke of Orleans had paſſed?* " Yes, " without the leaſt difficuly," replied the

Miniſter. "And is he appointed then Lieu-"tenant-General of the Kingdom?"—"Lieu-"tenant-General of the Kingdom! what is "it you mean?"—"The affair of the Duke "of *Orleans*."—"The Duke of *Orleans* "has aſked permiſſion to go to England, "and it is granted him: I know no other "buſineſs he has." The emiſſary, diſconcerted by ſo unexpected an anſwer, made no reply to this, but haſtened to give an account of it to the Members of the Committee, and particularly to Count *Mirabeau*, whoſe rage, indignation, and contempt, were vented in violent imprecations againſt the Duke. Almoſt all theſe facts are proved in the proceedings at the Chatelet, on the offences of the 5th and 6th of October. No mention is there made of the circumſtances relative to the Baron *de Breteuil*, becauſe that Miniſter's evidence was not called for on the trials; but I have reported them becauſe they were atteſted to me by *M. de Montmorin*, who heard them from the King, and from the Baron *de Breteuil* himſelf.

I now reſume the chain of events which I thought it neceſſary to interrupt, that I might

might not break the narrative of ſo important an anecdote.

The night of the 14th of July was another night of anxiety and horror for the Pariſians. Terrified at the enormity of their crimes, and particularly dreading the exemplary puniſhment they deſerved, they firmly believed all the projects of vengeance with which the King was charged, and were in conſtant expectation of the bombardment of the Capital, or the arrival of ſquadrons upon ſquadrons of huſſars. It was openly ſaid, that the nobility had been only waiting for this moment to declare themſelves againſt the people. It was no doubt to gain credit to this infamous calumny, that villains tolerably well dreſſed ran through the ſtreets with chalk in their hands, ſtopped at all the ſmall doors, and made different marks upon them, which the trembling citizens were eager to rub out unſeen, in hopes of eſcaping the proſcription of which they believed thoſe marks to be the ſignals. The continual ringing of the alarm-bell, the confuſion of the patrols, and their hurried march, kept up the general terror; which was ſtill further increaſed ſometimes by conſtant alarms given by the cries of, *to arms, to arms,*

arms, the huſſars are coming; ſometimes by the report of cannon heard at intervals, and which the Diſtricts at a diſtance ſuppoſed were fired by the King's troops. Such was the cowardice of thoſe famous conquerors of the Baſtile, that a large body of armed citizens poſted in the *Rue Vaugirard*, hearing the clank of chains at a diſtance, imagined it might be a train of artillery for a ſiege, with a powerful eſcort, and were ſo terrified at it, that a man paſſing at the moment, having called out with a frightened air, "*Here come the huſſars!*" the whole troop deſerted their poſt and vaniſhed in a moment. One of the runaways going into a houſe, and getting up to the garret-window, ſoon ſaw that this formidable train of artillery, and this column of huſſars, were nothing more than a carrier's waggon with a team of ſix horſes.

In the Hiſtory of our Revolution, as in that of the Revolutions of all countries, thouſands of facts of the ſame kind may be cited, which all prove that the people, even in a ſtate of rebellion, have only moments of bravery, or rather of fury, and that terror is in ſome ſort natural to them. Their ſtrength, which conſiſts in their impetuoſity,

petuosity, cannot withstand a long resistance, and to reduce them it is enough to attack them before they themselves begin the attack, or at the moment they give it over.

At length the day appeared, and dispelled the chimerical and ridiculous fears which had disturbed the sleep of the inhabitants of Paris. They were no longer apprehensive either of bombs or hussars, and were overjoyed at finding themselves as brave as they were the day before. But their agitation was kept up by the blackest suspicions, and by the most absurd conjectures. They were told, "that the attack upon the capital had "been only deferred, because the Court "wished first to turn their vengeance against "the Assembly; that the villains who dur-"ing the night had been crying—*to arms! "here come the hussars!* were emissaries of "the Ministers, who had made use of that "infernal stratagem to alarm the Parisians "on their own account, in order to prevent "their going to the assistance of the Depu-"ties, whose throats were perhaps all cut "by that time." When it was known that nothing had passed at Versailles, and that the Assembly continued to hold their sittings unmolested, it was rumoured, that the project

ject of the Miniſters had failed, becauſe the cannoniers, commanded by Marſhal *Broglio*, had refuſed to obey him. The fact was, that Marſhal *Broglio* had propoſed to eſcort the King and the Royal Family ſafely to Metz with the army; and that his Majeſty, inſtead of adopting that meaſure, which might have ſaved every thing, had determined, from the repreſentations and entreaties of the Duke *de Liancourt*, to throw himſelf confidently upon the Aſſembly, and to conſent to all they aſked *.

The

* On the ſame day the Archbiſhop of *Aix* being ſent for, and conſulted by the Queen, adviſed, that the King, far from diſmiſſing the troops, who, the French Guards excepted, were ſtill in the beſt order, ſhould employ them to put an end to the riots, to diſſolve the Aſſembly of the Electors, to reſtore order and tranquillity in Paris, &c. He thought that when the capital was thus reclaimed, his Majeſty might, without any obſtacle, ſuſpend or diſſolve the States-General on the grounds of convening the different public bodies of the State, or even the Bailiwick Aſſemblies, to adviſe with them on ſome of the important queſtions reſpecting which the Aſſembly were divided; that, during theſe various convocations, the King might re-eſtabliſh and maintain the ſtricteſt Police throughout the Kingdom, and that the petitions and denunciations that would in the mean time be ſent from every quarter againſt the States-

The Assembly not knowing this Resolution, were deliberating upon different plans of a new Address, which they intended to send to the King by a Deputation, to enforce his withdrawing the troops; to demand the dismission of all bad Counsellors from about his person, and to invite him to come to the Assembly.

The Deputies who were to go with this Address were named and ready to set out, when *Mirabeau* had the assurance to stop them by this violent apostrophe, dictated by the spirit of imposture and perfidy.

"Tell the King," cried he, "that the "foreign hordes by which we are invested, "were yesterday visited by Princes and "Princesses, and by favourites of both "sexes, and were caressed, exhorted, and "entreated by them. Tell him that all "night long the foreign satellites, gorged "with wine and gold, were predicting in "their impious songs the subjugation of "France; and that their brutal prayers in-"voked destruction upon the National As-

States-General, would render it unnecessary to assemble them again, and would put it in the King's power to resort to the means proposed by the first Assembly of the Notables to supply the deficit.

"sembly.

" ſembly. Tell him that in his very Palace " his courtiers were dancing to the ſounds " of this barbarous muſic, and that ſuch " was the prelude to the ſcene on St. Bar- " tholomew's day. Tell him that that " *Henry*, whoſe memory the Univerſe " bleſſes,—he whom from among his an- " ceſtors he choſe for his model, ſent pro- " viſions into Paris, although in a ſtate of " rebellion, and beſieged by himſelf in " perſon; but that his ferocious Counſellors " cauſe the flour which commerce brings " to Paris, to be turned away, although " Paris is loyal and famiſhing."

The effect which theſe atrocious imputations, ſanctioned in ſome degree by the ſilence of the Aſſembly, might produce at ſo critical a juncture, would naturally increaſe the embarraſſment and the alarms of the King and the Miniſters, and conſequently diſpoſe them to liſten readily to the demand which the Duke of *Orleans* was that day to make in the Council. This was no doubt the view of Count *Mirabeau*, and the hope of the Committee of Montrouge, but they had not foreſeen that the King would render this manœuvre uſeleſs by going himſelf to the Aſſembly before the Deputation ſet out.

In

In fact, at that very moment they were informed by the Duke *de Liancourt* that such was the intention of his Majesty, whose arrival was soon after announced by the Grand Master of the Ceremonies.

It was then determined, that the Deputation who were to have gone to the Palace should go and wait to receive the King in the court before the entrance of the Hall. Meanwhile it was debated what look the Assembly ought to assume, when the King appeared; and whether they should receive him with the usual marks of applause, or, as a great number of the Deputies wished, with silence and gloomy respect. But before the question was decided the King entered, accompanied only by his two brothers. The moment he appeared, that respect, that love, that irresistible softness, which the countenance of a good Monarch in misfortune always excites, became manifest, in the most affecting manner. The whole Assembly rose at once; those who had dared to propose keeping silence experienced the impossibility of it, and mixed with rapture their applauses and cries of "*Vive le Roi!*" with those of the Deputies who remained loyal, and who were only distinguished by

the tears that filled their eyes. When his Majesty came to the middle of the Hall, near the chair that was set for him, he delivered standing, and without putting on his hat, this Speech, which was anticipated by his hearers before he opened his mouth.

" GENTLEMEN,

" It was to consult you upon the most " important affairs of the State that I called " you together. There is none more press- " ing, or which more particularly affects " my heart, than the dreadful disorders " which reign in the capital. The Head " of the Nation comes with confidence in- " to the midst of its Representatives to ex- " press his pain to them, and to invite them " to fall upon means to re-establish order " and tranquillity. I know that unjust preju- " dices have been raised; I know that some " have dared to publish that your persons are " not safe. Could it be necessary to contradict " such criminal reports, contradicted on " the face of them by my known charac- " ter? Well then! I, who am but one " with my people, I will trust myself to " you. Assist me at this juncture to secure " the safety of the State. I expect it from

" the

" the National Aſſembly; the zeal of the
" Repreſentatives of my People united for
" the common welfare aſſures me of it;
" and, depending upon the love and alle-
" giance of my ſubjects, I have given orders
" for the troops to withdraw from Paris and
" from Verſailles. I authoriſe, nay invite
" you to make my Reſolution known to
" the Capital."

The King delivered this Speech with ſo affecting yet ſo confident an air, and with a voice ſo affectionate, that the Aſſembly could not hear him without interrupting him at every ſentence by teſtimonies of joy and gratitude. To have replied in a manner worthy this Speech, the Preſident ought to have confined himſelf to expreſſing the ſentiments manifeſted, not by a majority, but by the whole Aſſembly; and ſurely it was the height of barbarity or ſtupidity to chooſe that moment for expreſſing diſtruſt to the King, and imputing the public calamities to him by attributing them to the diſmiſſion of the Miniſters. This even *Mirabeau* himſelf would never have done; but this the virtuous, the pious Archbiſhop of *Vienne*, who was then Preſident of the Aſſembly,

dared to do; and ſo incredible an Anſwer can only be reported in its very words:

" SIRE,

" The love of your ſubjects for your ſa-
" cred perſon ſeems at this moment to en-
" croach on the profound reſpect due to
" your preſence—if, however, a Sovereign
" can be better reſpected than by the love of
" his ſubjects. The National Aſſembly re-
" ceive with the greateſt ſenſibility the aſ-
" ſurances which your Majeſty gives them
" of the removal of the troops aſſembled by
" your orders within and about the Capital,
" and in the vicinity of Verſailles. *They*
" *ſuppoſe that the removal granted to their*
" *wiſhes by your Majeſty is not ſimply a*
" *removal to ſome diſtance, but that the*
" *troops are to be ſent back to the garri-*
" *ſons or quarters whence they came.*

" The National Aſſembly have ordered
" me to mention on this occaſion ſome of
" their laſt Reſolutions, to which they affix
" the greateſt importance *. They ſuppli-

* The Aſſembly neither had nor could have given ſuch an order to the Preſident before they had heard the King's Speech, and they did not debate after hearing it.

" cate

" cate your Majeſty to open without delay
" a free intercourſe between Paris and Ver-
" ſailles; and to eſtabliſh at all times an
" unreſtrained and immediate communica-
" tion between them and your Majeſty.
" They earneſtly ſolicit your Majeſty's ap-
" probation to a Deputation they deſire to
" ſend to Paris, with the view and hope of
" its contributing greatly to reſtore order to
" your Capital. Laſtly, they renew their
" repreſentations to your Majeſty upon the
" changes that have taken place in your
" Council. *Thoſe changes are one of the*
" *principal cauſes* of the melancholy trou-
" bles which afflict us, and diſtreſs the
" heart of your Majeſty."

" My intentions and wiſhes," replied the King, " reſpecting the Deputation of the " National Aſſembly are known: I will " never refuſe a communication with them " whenever they deem it neceſſary."

As he concluded this ſentence the King moved forward to go out of the Hall, and the whole Aſſembly preſſed after him. In the court he was ſo affected with the deſire they ſhowed of accompanying him ſtill far-

ther, that his Majeſty determined on walking to the Palace. The Deputies of the three Orders then mixed without diſtinction with the *Gardes-du-Corps*, and ſwarmed about his perſon, crying "*Vive le Roi!*" The people running in crowds from every quarter came and joined their acclamations to thoſe of the Deputies. This immenſe retinue, compoſed of almoſt all the inhabitants of Verſailles, ſoon became ſo embarraſſing from the efforts they made all at the ſame time to get near the King, and enjoy the pleaſure of ſeeing him, that his Majeſty had an hour's painful walk before he arrived at the Palace. On the way a vulgar woman, for whom no doubt a *theme* had alſo been made, preſſed through the crowd, came up to the King, and, throwing herſelf on her knees, ſaid to him—"Oh! Sire! Oh! my "King! Is what you have been doing "really ſincere? Will it not be again as it "was a fortnight ago?" The King, far from taking offence at this inſolence, raiſed the woman kindly, and replied—"Yes, "yes, my good woman, it will be laſting; "I will never change my opinion."

The Aſſembly having attended the King as far as the bottom of the flight of ſteps in

in the Marble Court, returned to reſume their Sitting, and reſolved—" That a De-
" putation compoſed of eighty-eight of the
" members ſhould immediately ſet out for
" Paris; that they ſhould uſe all their ef-
" forts, and employ every means poſſible,
" to reſtore order and tranquillity; to con-
" ſolidate the eſtabliſhment of the bourgeois
" guard; and that they ſhould publiſh in
" every part of the town the aſſurance given
" by the King, that the troops were going
" to withdraw from Paris and Verſailles."

As ſoon as the Deputation was gone, a member of the Aſſembly propoſed an Addreſs to the King, to demand the diſmiſſion of the new Miniſters, as being abſolutely unworthy of the public confidence. This motion was too eſſentially connected with the plan and ambitious views of the Committee of Montrouge, not to be agreeable to Count *Mirabeau*, and he accordingly ſupported it with all his power; but it was rejected, on the obſervation made by Count *de Clermont Tonnerre*, " That his Majeſty
" ought to be ſuffered to reliſh at leaſt for
" four-and-twenty hours the joy and happi-
" neſs of being King of ſo loyal a Nation;
" and that in ſo glorious a day it did not be-

" come the dignity of the Assembly to at-
" tend to so contemptible a Ministry."

Thus terminated that memorable Sitting, in which *Louis XVI*, ever impelled by his fatal reliance on the love and allegiance of the French, voluntarily stripped himself of all the means of supporting his authority, at a moment when the most powerful would scarcely have been sufficient to preserve it. He chose rather to leave his Throne without support to the mercy of all the factious who wished to overthrow it, and his own person without defence to the discretion of a people armed and delirious, than to shed the blood of any one of his subjects.

CHAP-

CHAPTER X.

The Electors generally cenſured — Their Embarraſſment — The Commander of the Pariſian Militia ſuperſeded — M. de la Fayette appointed in his ſtead, on the Command being refuſed by the Duke d'Aumont—M. Bailly appointed Mayor—Arrival of the Deputation from the Aſſembly at the Hotel-de-Ville — Speeches — Acclamations and Tranſports of Joy—Te Deum at Notre Dame—Conduct of the Electors and of the Aſſembly—Mr. Necker recalled—Retreat of the new Miniſtry—The King goes to Paris, accompanied by a numerous Deputation of the Aſſembly—Departure of the Ducheſs de Polignac—Sitting held by the King at the Hotel-de-Ville—The King receives the National

Cockade—Speech made by M. de Lally—General Joy—The King's return to Verſailles.

IT was ſoon known at Paris that the Aſſembly had not experienced any of the dangers with which it was ſaid to have been menaced; that the pretended refuſal of the cannoniers to obey Marſhal *Broglio*, and all the projects of vengeance attributed to the Miniſters, were but ridiculous fables, deſtitute of every kind of foundation. Alarms and ſuſpicions all vaniſhed, and gave place to regret and remorſe for the crimes, as atrocious as uſeleſs, with which the capital had diſgraced itſelf. Diſſatisfaction and ſorrow were painted on every countenance. Loud murmurs were directed againſt the Electors, who were accuſed of ignorance, weakneſs, and evil intentions. The blame of all that had happened was thrown upon them.—"They alone," it was ſaid, "might have "been able to prevent it, and conſequently "ſhould be reſponſible for it."

The Electors, alarmed at this temper, exerted their utmoſt efforts to avert from their own heads the ſtorm that threatened them, and turned all the charges which were laid

to

to them upon the irresolution of *M. de Flesselles*, the want of a chief Magistrate after the death of that last of the *Prevôts*, and above all, upon the incapacity of the Commander of the bourgeois guard, with whom the people were exceedingly dissatisfied, for having taken no part in the events of the preceding days. "What," said they, "have we to do with a Commander who "does not command, and who cannot show "himself a man?"

The Commander, *La Salle d'Offemont*, having no satisfactory reply to make to this reproach, the Electors hoped to effect a diversion in their own favour by employing themselves in the choice of another Commander. They first founded the Duke *d'Aumont*, who two days before had voluntarily tendered his services: he was sent for to the Committee of the Electors, and offered the place of *M. de la Salle;* but he refused it, under pretence that his personal connexions with the Court would render his appointment to the command more prejudicial than useful in the new order of things. On his refusal they appointed *M. de la Fayette*, who was known to be well disposed to accept the place. This appointment was fol-

followed by that of *M. Bailly* to the office of Mayor, a title now ſubſtituted for that of *Prevôt des Marchands*, becauſe the new order of things, it was ſaid, required that the Head of the Municipality of Paris ſhould unite the functions of Lieutenant of Police, and even thoſe of Miniſter of Paris, to thoſe of *Prevôt des Marchands*.

Although the Diſtricts objected, and with good reaſon, that the Electors, in proceeding to theſe appointments, had exerciſed a right that did not belong to them, the choice they had made gave general ſatisfaction, and their irregularity was forgotten in public approbation.

Tranquillity and hope began to revive, when they heard of the new meaſure adopted by the King, and of the departure of the Deputation ſent by the National Aſſembly to Paris. Theſe arrived, accompanied by the people of the different villages that lie on the road to Verſailles. The Deputies got out of their carriages at the barrier *de la Conference*, and walked to the *Hotel-de-Ville* through a lane formed by more than fifty thouſand men, ſome armed with guns, others with pikes, axes, ſcythes, &c. The obſtreperous homage of this undiſciplined and diſ-

diſorderly multitude gave this ſhow much more the air of an inſurrection than that of a *triumphal proceſſion*. On all ſides the people cried out—" *Theſe are our ſaviours,* " *theſe are the deliverers of France—the* " *martyrs of Liberty! Long live the King!* " *Long live the Nation! Long live the Na-* " *tional Aſſembly!*" At every inſtant women of the loweſt claſs making their way through the crowd ſprang upon the Deputies, and overwhelmed them with the groſſeſt careſſes. They were all particularly deſirous of embracing *M. de la Fayette* and the Abbé *Sieyes*.

The Hall of the *Hotel-de-Ville*, into which the Deputation was introduced, was ſoon filled with an immenſe crowd of people of all conditions. The Deputies having taken the places allotted for them, *M. de la Fayette* ſeized the firſt moment of ſilence to declare the object of the Deputation:—" Gentlemen," ſaid he, " at length the mo-" ment moſt deſired by the National Aſ-" ſembly is arrived. The King has been " deceived, he is no longer ſo: he this " day came amongſt us, without arms, " without troops, without that awful array " with which Princes are ſurrounded, and " which to good Kings is ſo uſeleſs. He " has

" has informed us that he has given orders " to the troops to retire. Let us forget our " misfortunes, or rather let us remember " them only in order to avoid ſimilar ones " in future."

He concluded with reading the Speech which the King had delivered in the Aſſembly, and of which every ſentence excited the moſt lively acclamations of joy and gratitude. The applauſes which every moment reſounded in the Hall were reverberated with ecſtacy by the immenſe populace that thronged the *Place-de-Greve*, the quays, and all the ſtreets leading to the *Hotel-de-Ville*.

M. de Lally Tolendal then delivered the following Speech*:

" Pariſians, in us behold your fellow-citizens, your friends, your brothers, thoſe who have the honour of being your immediate agents, thoſe on whom your free and glorious ſuffrages have beſtowed in the National Repreſentation the diſtinction you en-

* This Speech has been altered, curtailed, and reported differently by all the Journaliſts. It is here inſerted as the author ſent it to me on my applying to him for it.

joy

joy among the cities of France. You see men who are this day come to restore peace to you; who guaranty it to you upon their faith, of which you have no doubt, and who, were it necessary, would guaranty it with their heads, which they will ever be ready to devote to your service. In the disastrous circumstances now for ever done away, you have never felt a single pang, never been exposed to a single crisis, which we have not truly participated or traced with anxiety. Your afflictions so deep!—your resentments, unfortunately so just! your dangers too! We were shocked to think ourselves away from them; and our only consolation was, that we were labouring to avert them effectually at once from you, from our Country, and from our King. Yes! from our King! who, believe me, never thought of attacking you, but who has been attacked at the same time that you have; who has been betrayed in a manner not less shamefully than yourselves. Fatal Counsels! were it only their imprudence that could be accused of all the disorders to which the bare idea of them has given birth. How has your good, your virtuous King been deceived! The poison of calumny has

been poured into his pure heart. He, whose mind must ever be conscious of his claims to your love, has been beset with terrors equally injurious to him and to the generous and affectionate Nation over whom he has the happiness and the honour of reigning. Citizens! notwithstanding this, what has happened? With any other Prince our duty might have been painful, and almost dreadful; with *Louis XVI.* it was only necessary to go directly to him, to point out the truth, and paint your misfortunes. It instantly drew tears from him. *You rend my heart!* said he to us last night, with an accent that immediately communicated comfort to our own; and this morning he came amongst us all without arms or parade. He had no train but that of his good actions; no guard but that of our love. In the midst of us he spoke in the noble and conciliatory language which you have just heard, and which you are about to bless. He told us that *he relied upon us,* that is, upon you; that he depended on our faith, that is, on yours. He requested us to *assist him with our counsels, in order to secure the safety of the State.* Judge whether our counsels will be for your happiness and his, or not; whether

whether either in our wiſhes or in yours the State can ever be ſeparated from its Chief. He then informed us of *the order which he had given to the troops to withdraw*, and even while he was ſpeaking to us the troops were in motion to obey that order. Every word he uttered was attended with all the effuſions of our gratitude, and they were juſtly due to him. He came to throw himſelf into our arms, and in our arms we carried him in triumph back to his Palace; whence, impatient to gratify the firſt wiſh of his heart, we flew, deputed by him, to the People of his Capital *.

" Pariſians! What have we experienced in our way to you? What emotions! what ſights! what occurrences!—Here, companies of ſoldiers marching before us on their way to the frontiers, which they ſhould never have left: there, crowds of people running to meet us, and to whom, in the name of the King, we reſtored the ſecurity which they never deſerved to loſe. All the houſes, all the paths, reſounding with the ſame acclamations which have juſt proceeded from

* General acclamations of " *Vive le Roi! Vivent nos Deputés!*"

your-

yourſelves, with thoſe glorious ſhouts of—*Vive le Roi! Vive la Nation! Vive la Liberté*!* And we, the Miniſters of peace and love between the French and their Sovereign; we, faithful ſubjects, faithful Repreſentatives, henceforth rendered happy by the union of thoſe titles equally ſacred, hearing confuſedly, yet with delight, our names mixed with all theſe bleſſings, we ſaid to each other, that this day was the moſt glorious of our lives, and that, if you choſe, it would be the moſt glorious of the Monarchy.

" Frenchmen! you muſt chooſe it. One prayer remains for us to make to you. It is addreſſed to you from the bottom of our hearts, and approved by our conſciences; and by all that is dear to you we conjure you to grant it. In the name of the King and of the National Aſſembly we have brought you peace: let us now in your name carry back peace to the King and the National Aſſembly.† But peace in its fulleſt ſenſe, peace that leaves no heart-burnings for the paſt—no diſtruſt of the future. We

* The ſame ſhouts are repeated through the Hall.

† A general ſhout of PEACE!

were

were comforted at ſight of *the meaſures taken by your prudence for the internal order* of your immenſe town. We were ſurpriſed that ſo violent an agitation ſhould be ſucceeded by a Police ſo prompt and ſo regular as that which we every where obſerved on our way. You are impatient, I am ſure of it, to affix your ſeal to this return of public tranquillity. While your voices are joining with mine in proclaiming peace, I ſee you are impatient to put an end to theſe warlike preparations, of which the ſlighteſt danger, if they continue, would be to afflict the ſight of the citizen, and to turn away the ſteps of the ſtranger. You are the ſoldiers of Liberty, but ſcorn to be the bravoes of Sedition. Greatly as you are to be admired for your courage, when rouſed by the dread of ſubjection you flew to arms, much more will you be admired for your virtue, in laying down thoſe arms at the call of the King, who ſets you the example, and in obedience to your Country, that commands it. Electors! and you that are fathers of families! who in the tempeſt flew to the helm, and without whom perhaps the veſſel would ere this have

been ſunk*! it is more eſpecially your part to accompliſh theſe wiſhes. It is yours to temper the overflowing ſpirit of the young, and regulate the exceſs of their noble paſſions. Tell them, that they who calumniate Nations to their Kings merit all our execration: but tell them too, that they do not merit it more, neither are they more criminal or more dangerous than they who calumniate Kings to their Nations. Repeat to them thoſe ſacred maxims, which to your immortal honour, and for the preſervation of ſome unfortunate men, were echoed round this Hall no longer ſince than yeſterday. Put all our beloved fellow-citizens in mind, that a time of commotion is no time for legiſlation, and that the very bounties of the King, even our own zeal would be unavailing, if our tranquillity were diſturbed. Tell them laſtly, and tell them again and again, that they muſt now become the admiration or the ſcorn of Europe; that on this moment and for ever depends the HONOUR OF THE FRENCH NAME! I ſee you all ſtart at theſe words. Citizens of every order and of every age, an-

* Acclamations of *Vivent les Electeurs!*

ſwer

ſwer me, I beſeech you. Would you not rather ſuffer a thouſand deaths than renounce or tarniſh the honour of the French Name *? Do you not, true to that character, love your King, your Country, your Wives, your Parents, and your children †? Believe me then, that you will love them ſtill more when you enjoy that liberty which gives a new exiſtence to all the faculties of man, a new charm to all his feelings: and you ſhall enjoy it, you ſhall be a free people; for your King has promiſed it, and your Repreſentatives have ſworn it ‡. Well! you mean then no more to wound all that is dear to you, by cruel ſtrifes?—You mean that there ſhall be no more proſcriptions?—Puniſhment muſt flow only from the Law; without which, reſentment the juſteſt in its principle may become criminal in its effects. Let there be an end to irregular denunciations, to tumultuous proceedings againſt bad citizens:

* A general cry of—Yes! yes!

† Yes! yes! yes!

‡ A general cry of—*Vive le Roi! Vivent nos Repreſentans!*

there ſhall be no more bad citizens, all will be rendered good by your example*.

" Citizens! you ſee, we are all agreed. I do not expreſs a ſingle thought in which my words are not anticipated by your feelings. I thank you for the kind attention with which you have liſtened to me, and will not encroach upon it; but, in concluding, allow my parting words to be the repetition of thoſe which your generous and beneficent Monarch this morning impreſſed upon our hearts. Addreſſing the National Aſſembly, he ſaid, " I TRUST TO YOU." To you, my fellow-citizens, I ſay, *The National Aſſembly truſt to you; they reſign themſelves to you.* All is contained in this ſingle ſentence—Our wants and your rights; both what we feel and what is due to you; the ſecurity of our labours, and the proſperity of your Country."

When to quell a popular inſurrection it is neceſſary to uſe perſuaſion inſtead of forcible means, the ſpeaker who undertakes ſo

* Repeated cries of—Peace! No more proſcriptions!

hazardous

hazardous a task must necessarily address the people in a language to which they will listen, and of course he must soothe them, and even appear to approve their excesses, in order the more surely to gain their confidence*. They must be treated like those maniacs whom opposition always irritates, and whose ideas one must pretend to adopt, to succeed the more easily in making them relinquish them. It is thus we must understand *M. de Lally's* speech, to refrain from severely censuring him for saying *that any part of the resentment of the people was just, that he admired the plan of defence adopted by the Parisians, and the order of their Police.* Those acts of rebellion were crimes that could be really admired only by the villains capable of committing them, and certainly no man was farther removed from that class than *M. de Lally.* These therefore were artful phrases adapted to circumstances: he feigned to approve and to admire the insurrection, to be able the more easily to arrest its course. The speech,

* Accidit tamen aliquando ut sicut equo propter ferociam, ita civi contumaci propter potentiam blandiendum. (Hobbes, *De Cive*).

however, produced ſo lively an emotion in the crowd of hearers, that the ſpeaker was in danger of being ſtifled by the embraces of all within reach of him. A crown of flowers was offered to him; which he modeſtly refuſed, ſaying that the homage was due to the National Aſſembly; but in ſpite of his efforts to prevent it, it was placed upon his head. His audience were then deſirous of ſhowing him to the people aſſembled in the ſquare, and, notwithſtanding his reſiſtance, drew him to a window, where he received a teſtimony of the ſatisfaction of all the ſpectators, by continued ſhouts of applauſe. The ſpeech moſt ſucceſsful after *M. de Lally's* was that of the Count *de Clermont-Tonnerre.*

The neceſſity of a return to ſubordination, juſtice, and peace, was ſo generally felt, that if the Aſſembly had known how, or been inclined, to ſeize the occaſion to re-eſtabliſh public authority on its legitimate baſis, to reſtore order, and to inveſt the King again with the means of maintaining it, nothing could have been eaſier: but the commiſſion of the Deputies did not go ſo far, and doubtleſs they did not dare to exceed it. Their ſpeeches, though full of eloquent invitations

vitations to union and tranquillity, pointed out no means for re-eſtabliſhing them, propoſed no plan, and left people the beſt inclined ſtill at a loſs what reſolution to take. This embarraſſment was relieved by a propoſal, luckily made by the Archbiſhop of Paris, to go and ſing the *Te Deum* at *Notre-Dame*; and the neceſſity for doing ſomething uncommon cauſed it to be unanimouſly adopted. The Deputation walked to the church accompanied by the people; and after the *Te Deum*, *M. de la Fayette*, amidſt the firing of cannon, the beating of drums, and the ſound of military muſic, took the oath of faithfully performing the duties of General of the Pariſian Militia. Such was the reſult, far more pious than uſeful, of this important deputation. Scarcely were they ſet out for Verſailles, when the Electors, taking to themſelves the invitations to re-eſtabliſh order, and conſidering them as a ſolemn confirmation of the powers they had arrogated, became intent upon the means of confirming their uſurpation. As *M. Bailly*'s appointment to the office of Mayor had placed at their head the firſt Preſident of the National Aſſembly, they thought they might proceed on an equality with the Repreſenta-

tives of the Nation. This pretenſion, ridiculous as it was, flattered the vanity of the Pariſians, and did not a little contribute to make them approve all the reſolutions and meaſures taken by the Electors to organize and confirm their authority.

In the account given next day by the Deputation to the National Aſſembly, they declared that the cry at the *Hotel-de-Ville*, in the *Place-de-Greve*, and through the whole town, had been unanimous in requiring the recall of Mr. *Necker*, and the removal of the new Miniſters. "It was not in my "power," ſaid *M. de Lally*, "to paſs over in "ſilence the wiſhes of the Capital, becauſe "my fellow-citizens conjured me to declare "them to you; and I but yield to the dic-"tates of my conſcience, and perform my "duty, in laying before you the orders of "my Conſtituents."

Count *Mirabeau*, ever faithful to the plan of the Montrouge Committee, had prepared a ſpeech for the occaſion, with the outline of an addreſs, which he then read. It was a moſt violent Philippic againſt the new Miniſters; but it went no farther than their diſmiſſion, without ſhowing the leaſt deſire that the diſgraced Miniſters ſhould be recalled.

called. It was however highly applauded, and almoſt all the Members of the Aſſembly who ſpoke, allowed that it was unſeemly to aſk for the recall of Mr. *Necker*, and were of opinion that the Repreſentatives of the Nation had done enough in teſtifying their eſteem and regret for him. *M. de Lally* oppoſed this opinion, which was given up, and it was then determined that a Deputation ſhoud be ſent to the King to requeſt the removal of the new Miniſters, and the recall of Mr. *Necker*.

While they were deliberating on the alterations to be made in the addreſs propoſed by *Mirabeau*, the King ſent to inform the Aſſembly that the Baron *de Breteuil* had refuſed to be in the adminiſtration, and that the other Miniſters had ſent in their reſignation. On this it was inſtantly reſolved, that a Deputation ſhould be ſent to his Majeſty to expreſs the gratitude of the Aſſembly: but before they ſet out, a Member of the Nobility ſaid, "That he was "authoriſed to declare, that the King, on "being informed of the wiſhes of the Pari-"ſians, had reſolved to go and appear "among them in the Capital, and that he "deſired the Aſſembly to make this reſolu-

"tion

" tion known to *his good city of Paris.*" In conſequence of this, it was reſolved, that a Deputation ſhould inſtantly carry this gratifying news to the Capital; and that his Majeſty ſhould be entreated to allow a numerous Deputation of the National Aſſembly to attend him to Paris.

That ſent to the Palace very ſoon returned, and made known that the King accepted the attendance of the Members offered by the Aſſembly; that Mr. *Necker* ſhould be recalled; that his Majeſty, to give the Repreſentatives of the Nation a freſh proof of his confidence, ſent them the letter which he had written to that Miniſter, and deſired they would have it conveyed to him at Bruſſels, where he would probably be ſtill overtaken.

It was reſolved that the Preſident ſhould alſo write to Mr. *Necker*, to invite him in the name of the Aſſembly to haſten his return. The letter * was inſtantly written, and, with the King's, given to *Dufreſne de St. Leon*, a friend of Mr. *Necker*'s, who immediately ſet out to overtake him at Bruſſels. The Aſſembly then proceeded to ap-

* See Appendix, No. 2.

point

point a hundred Deputies to accompany the King to Paris, of which honour they were all ambitious. *Louis XVI.* yielding them every thing, giving up all to them, became in their eyes the paragon of Kings. They were not satisfied with comparing him to *Louis XII.* and *Henry IV.*—*Rabaud de St. Etienne*, a Deputy and Journalist, placed him in his paper on a par with *Charlemagne*.

While the Assembly gave themselves up to the joy of seeing every thing succeed according to their wishes, the Palace was in the deepest consternation. I went thither that morning at eleven o'clock, without knowing what had passed, and was frozen with apprehension at the solitude and silence that reigned. I anxiously asked the person in waiting, whom I found alone in the antichamber, if the King were within? "Yes, "Sir," he replied, "I believe he is still "within."—"Why *still?* Is he going "out?"—"I don't know, Sir, but it has "not a good look." "Has any thing new "then occurred since yesterday, do you "know?" "No, Sir, but many things are "said."—"Are any of the Ministers with "the King?" "Ministers! he has no "longer

" longer any: nobody has been here but " *M. D'Ogny* *, who saw the King this " morning." I hastened to *M. D'Ogny*, with whom I was intimately connected, and from him I learned the dismission of the Ministers, their departure, that of the Count *d'Artois*, the Duchess *de Polignac* †, and many others.

The joy of the Parisians was still mixed with uneasiness and the most absurd suspi-

* Comptroller of the Posts.

† The Duchess of *Polignac* has been the object of the most atrocious calumnies, because she continued faithful to the Queen, whom her enemies were anxious to render odious in the sight of the People by every kind of means; and that of defaming her best friends was doubtless one of the surest. *Madame de Polignac* never would have left their Majesties, had not the King, whose esteem, confidence, and affection for her were very high, insisted on her quitting the Kingdom about the 16th of July. He dreaded her being involved in the dangers with which he was surrounded. The interest and affectionate friendship which the virtuous *Louis XVI.* preserved to the end of his life for the Duchess of *Polignac*, would have fully cleared her from all the odious imputations which slander had dared to cast upon her; but she was not able to survive the horrible destiny of her august benefactors. Death has torn her from her friends, and that is to say, from all who knew her.— I had not that honour, and therefore what I have said is much less an apology for her, than respect paid to Truth.

cions:

cions: they fully confided in the intentions and promiſes of the King; but the troops, of whoſe removal they had been told, were ſtill in the environs of Paris, and they took it into their heads that the Miniſters had delayed their departure only to employ them againſt the Capital. In vain were they ſhown the impoſſibility of thirty thouſand men marching at once, and before the neceſſary meaſures had been taken to ſecure their ſubſiſtence on the different roads: fear is not to be conquered by reaſon, and fear was their conſtant predominant ſenſation. It was kept up by the diſorder ſtill prevailing among the patrols, whoſe number, confuſion, and precipitate movements, gave a ſanction to the moſt alarming impoſtures: beſides, ſome falſe patrols were from time to time taken up, compoſed of thoſe ruffians who infeſt all great towns, and who conſtantly have pillage in view. Theſe were diſarmed and carried to the *Hotel-de-Ville*; the People ſecured and barricaded their houſes ſtill more than the preceding days; the alarm-bell inceſſantly called to arms thoſe citizens who had been able to get any; and they were ſeen running to their Diſtricts, and to the *Hotel-de-Ville*, as eagerly as if the ſiege

or blockade they ſuppoſed intended by the Miniſters had been already begun.

The Electors having in vain tried every means to allay this fermentation, imagined that the preſence of ſome Members of the National Aſſembly might have that effect, and deſpatched a Deputation to beſeech them to ſend a certain number as ſoon as poſſible. This Deputation was gone when they learned that the King had cauſed the Aſſembly to be informed of the retreat of the new Miniſters, of the recall of Mr. *Necker*, and of his Majeſty's intention to come to Paris the next day. But as this news was not officially announced, they were leſs diſpoſed to believe it than to conſider it as a ſnare laid by ſome Miniſter in the conſpiracy, to lull the vigilance of the Pariſians. In conſequence, all the poſts were re-enforced, and the ſtreets lighted up more than ever.

The Deputation commiſſioned by the Aſſembly to go and inform the Capital of the King's intentions, did not arrive at the *Hotel-de-Ville* till two o'clock; when the news was immediately ſpread through all the Diſtricts, and before ſeven in the morning more than a hundred thouſand men were under arms to go and meet his Majeſty.

On

On Friday the 17th of July the King left Verſailles, at nine o'clock in the morning, with a guard compoſed ſolely of the Bourgeois Militia of Verſailles. The National Aſſembly met the King on his way before the Hall, and the Deputation appointed to attend him fell into his train. A much greater number of the Members of the Aſſembly, conſulting only their zeal and loyalty, joined the retinue, and a little allayed the lively apprehenſions felt by the Queen and the Royal Family: apprehenſions doubtleſs very natural. Could one without ſhuddering think of the dangers the King ran, in being led, by his confidence and the love of his people, into the midſt of a mad multitude ſtained with ſo many crimes, already habituated to blood, and whoſe very joy was ſo ferocious?—A bribed villain, a fanatic fellow, a ſingle moment, might have proved fatal.—Alas! the deſtiny of *Louis* retarded that moment but to render it more execrable!

The Paris Militia, who were waiting for the King at Seves, relieved that of Verſailles, who nevertheleſs continued to attend his Majeſty.

The

The Horſe Guards led the way, and were followed by the French Guards, with the cannon and colours of the Baſtille at their head. The Members of the Aſſembly, filing off in pairs and forming a double column, went next; and, after them, the infantry of the Bourgeois Militia. A conſiderable detachment of Volunteer Cavalry preceded *M. de la Fayette*, who, as Commander, was on horſeback with his ſword drawn in the midſt of the train. The Paris guard, the muſic of the City Guards, the fiſh-women clothed in white, ornamented with ribbons of the colours of the National cockade, and carrying in their hands flowers and branches of laurel, made up the part of the proceſſion immediately before the King's coach, in which were the Dukes *de Villequier* and *de Villeroi*, Marſhal *Beauveau*, and Count *d'Eſtaing*. The carriage was ſurrounded by ſome hundreds of Swiſs in common clothes, without arms, and confounded with the crowd.

The King was received at the barrier *de la Conference* by the Municipal Body. *M. Bailly*, as Mayor, executing the office of *Prevôt des Marchands*, preſented the keys of the

the town to his Majeſty in a ſilver baſon, and addreſſed him in the following Speech:

" Sire! I bring your Majeſty the keys of " your good City of Paris: they are the " ſame that were preſented to *Henry IV.* " He had conquered his People; at preſent " it is the People who have conquered their " King.

" Your Majeſty comes to enjoy the peace " which you have eſtabliſhed in your Capi- " tal, and to enjoy the love of your faithful " ſubjects. It is for their happineſs that " your Majeſty has aſſembled the Repre- " ſentatives of the Nation, and that with " them you are going to undertake to lay " the baſis of liberty and public proſperity. " What a memorable day was that, when " your Majeſty went to ſit in perſon in the " midſt of this united family, and were eſ- " corted back to your palace by the whole " National Aſſembly, guarded by the Re- " preſentatives of the Nation, and ſurround- " ed by an immenſe body of people! Your " Majeſty's countenance beamed with ſen- " ſibility and happineſs, whilſt around you " nothing was heard but acclamations of " joy, nothing ſeen but tears of tenderneſs

" and love. Sire! neither your People nor
" your Majeſty will ever forget that great
" day, the moſt glorious of the Monarchy,
" the æra of an auguſt *and eternal* alliance
" between the Monarch and the People.
" This circumſtance is unparalleled, and
" immortalizes your Majeſty. To that glo-
" rious day I was witneſs; and as if every
" happineſs were meant for me, the firſt
" duty of the office to which I have been
" called by the ſuffrages of my fellow-citi-
" zens, is to preſent you with the expreſ-
" ſion of their reſpect and of their love."

Having liſtened to this ſpeech, the King continued his way to the *Hotel-de-Ville*, through a lane of treble ranks of armed people roaring out *Vive la Nation*, and perpetually mixing with thoſe ſenſeleſs acclamations the brutal cry, which cannot be repeated without horror, of *Do not call Vive le Roi*. Such was the firſt homage which the good Pariſians, the good City of Paris, offered to *Louis XVI.* in return for his goodneſs, his confidence, and all his ſacrifices: ſuch were the expreſſions of their reſpect and love, ſuch the noble manner in which *this People who had conquered their King*

made uſe of their victory! A great number of the *Gardes-du-Corps*, having no other arms than their ſwords, then came up, and requeſted permiſſion to attend the King, but were not allowed, and were ſtopped at the barrier.

The ſadneſs which this diſguſting reception ſtruck to the heart of the unfortunate Monarch, appeared on his face in ſo affecting a manner, that it was impoſſible to look at him without feeling it. The number of thoſe who turned away their heads to hide their tears, was greater by thouſands than that of the villains whoſe ſavage cries compelled their ſilence. Fortunately it was not long before the King perceived this, and remarked it to Marſhal *Beauveau*: "Thoſe "who are ſilent," ſaid he with emotion, "are the real Pariſians; and all thoſe noiſy "fellows are only ruffians who do not be- "long to the town: I am ſure of it." The Duke *de Briſſac*, from whom I had this anecdote, related it to me in 1792, when I was expreſſing to him my uneaſineſs on account of the mobs that were conſtantly gathered in the Thuileries, under the windows of the palace, abuſing the King and Queen in the groſſeſt manner. Alas! their Majeſties believed,

even at that period, that they might depend upon the loyalty of the Parisians.

When the King arrived at the *Champs Elisées*, three or four guns were fired at once. It was never known whence they proceeded; but it is certain that an unfortunate woman in the crowd, who was in the direction of his Majesty's carriage, was shot at the time, and fell dead on the spot. All the Journals confirmed this fact; some considering it as an artifice practised by the enemies of public order, to excite tumult and furnish grounds for some adventure; others ascribing it to the unskilfulness and inexperience of such a number of men who never handled fire-arms before *. Far from admitting this last conjecture, I cannot but think, on the contrary, that they only who had ordered and paid for those four shots, fired at once in the direction of the King's carriage which held four persons, could see any awkwardness in the circumstance.

Near the *Pont-neuf* the King observed cannon, in the mouths and touch-holes of which were large nosegays, and tickets with

* *Moniteur*, No. 27. from the 28th to the 29th of July 1789, under the head of Paris.

these

theſe words: *Your preſence has diſarmed us.—At the ſight of you, flowers grow on the death-winged thunderbolts, with which your enemies and ours have forced us to arm ourſelves.*

It was twenty minutes paſt four o'clock when the King arrived at the *Place-de-Greve*, and alighted at that flight of ſteps which a few days before had been ſtained with blood by the perpetration of ſo many murders. Thouſands of pikes and naked ſwords were at the ſame inſtant croſſed over his auguſt head, and under this vault of ſteel his Majeſty was conducted to the great hall of the *Hotel-de-Ville*, where a throne was prepared for him.

* The cries of *Vive le Roi*, with which the Hall reſounded till his Majeſty was on the throne, had a character of happineſs and ſenſibility that no words can expreſs. *M. Bailly* offered the King a cockade ſimilar to that which the Citizens had adopted. His

* As I was not preſent at this ceremony, I thought I could not do better than report the account given on the very day to the National Aſſembly by one of the Deputies, *Sallé de Choux*, who attended the King to Paris. See his Report in the Minute of the Sitting in the evening of the 17th of July.

Majeſty received it, and kept it conſtantly in his hat. The feelings excited in his mind were manifeſt on his countenance and in all his actions, in ſuch a manner as to increaſe the emotions of all preſent.

When at length the tumult was calmed and ſilence obtained, *M. Moreau de St. Mery*, Preſident of the Aſſembly of Electors, addreſſed the King in a ſpeech, wherein he obſerved to his Majeſty, that the People who broke out into ſuch real and general raptures could little deſerve to have their intentions towards their King calumniated. "Sire," ſaid he, "you have now only to repeat to yourſelf this great and affecting truth: *The thrones of Kings are never more ſolid than when founded on the love and fidelity of their people.*—By this title yours will be unſhaken."

Ethys de Corny, as the King's Solicitor for the City, then roſe and propoſed, that in order to conſecrate the æra of this great day, a monument be erected to *Louis XVI. the Reſtorer of Liberty.*

The King wiſhed to ſpeak; but being prevented by the exceſs of his emotions, *M. Bailly* went up to his Majeſty, and, after receiving his orders, ſaid, That the King was come

come to calm the uneaſineſs which might ſtill ſubſiſt reſpecting the intentions he had made known to the Nation, and to enjoy the ſight and love of his People: that his Majeſty deſired that peace and tranquillity ſhould be re-eſtabliſhed in the Capital, that the uſual order ſhould be reſumed, and that, if any breach of the laws took place, the guilty ſhould be delivered up to juſtice.

M. Bailly having then declared that his Majeſty permitted any one to ſpeak, *M. de Lally Tolendal* roſe and ſpoke as follows:

'Now, Citizens, now are you ſatisfied? 'Behold the King for whom you loudly 'called, and whoſe name alone excited your 'raptures, when two days ago we mention-'ed it in the midſt of you! Enjoy his pre-'ſence and his favours. Behold him who 'has reſtored your National Aſſemblies, and 'who wiſhes to perpetuate them! Behold 'him who has undertaken to eſtabliſh Li-'berty and Property upon unmoveable foun-'dations! Behold him who has offered 'you, if I may ſo ſay, a participation of 'his authority, reſerving to himſelf only 'that which is neceſſary for your happineſs,

'that which ought ever to belong to him, 'and that which you yourſelves ought to 'conjure him never to loſe! Let him at 'length be comforted; let his noble and 'pure heart carry hence that peace of which 'he is ſo worthy; and ſince, ſurpaſſing the 'virtue of his predeceſſors, he has thought 'proper to place his power and greatneſs in 'our love, to be obeyed only through love, 'to be guarded only by love, let us not be 'either leſs ſenſible or leſs generous than our 'King; and let us prove to him, that even 'his power and his greatneſs have gained 'a thouſand times more than they have ſa-'crificed.

'And you, Sire, permit a ſubject, who, 'though neither more faithful nor more de-'voted than all around you, is as much ſo 'as any one under your command; permit 'him, Sire, to raiſe his voice towards you, 'and to ſay, Behold the People who idolize 'you, the People whom the very ſight of 'you intoxicates, and whoſe ſentiments to-'wards your ſacred perſon can never admit 'of a doubt! Look, Sire, and comfort 'yourſelf by looking at all the citizens of 'your Capital! Obſerve their eyes, hear

'their

'their voices, penetrate their hearts, which 'fly to meet you. There is not a man here 'who is not ready to ſhed the laſt drop of 'his blood for you and for your lawful 'authority*. No, Sire, the preſent race of 'Frenchmen is not ſo unfortunate as to 'have it reſerved for them to belie fourteen 'centuries of loyalty. We would all pe-'riſh if it were neceſſary in defending a 'Throne, which is as ſacred to us as to 'yourſelf and the auguſt Family whom 'we placed upon it eight hundred years 'ago. Be aſſured, Sire, be aſſured, that we 'have never cauſed your heart to feel a 'painful ſenſation which has not rent our 'own;

* *We all ſwear it*, was heard from every part of the Hall. A celebrated writer has ſaid, and many perſons have repeated after him, that this Speech, perhaps the moſt eloquent ever made by *M. de Lally*, was a long and pathetic paraphraſe of the *Ecce homo*. It would have been more accurate to have ſaid, that the words, "*Behold the King!*" were nearly a literal tranſlation; but neither would this obſervation have been applicable, as there is no phraſe the ſenſe of which might not be entirely altered by mutilating it; and as it is not for four words taken from a ſpeech of two pages long, that we can either criticiſe or applaud it. One thing is certain; that I have heard ſeveral perſons, who were preſent

'own; that in the midſt of the public ca-
'lamities we deem it a heavy one to afflict
'you even by a complaint, by which we
'mean to inform, to implore, but never to
'accuſe you. Now, at length, all griefs
'will vaniſh, all troubles ceaſe: a ſingle
'word from your lips has tranquilliſed all.
'Our virtuous King has recalled his vir-
'tuous Counſellors. Periſh the public ene-
'mies, who would again create diſſenſion
'between the Nation and their Chief!
'King! Subjects! Citizens! let us join our
'hearts, our wiſhes, our efforts; and let us
'diſplay to the eyes of the whole world
'the ſight of one of its fineſt Nations, free,
'happy, and triumphant, under a King juſt,
'beloved and revered, no longer indebted
'to force for any thing, but owing all to
'his virtues and his love.'

This Speech was interrupted at every paſſage expreſſive of the diſpoſition of the people towards the King, by the accla-

ſent at the time at the *Hotel-de-Ville*, ſpeak with rapture of the lively and affecting emotion which was produced by *M. de Lally* throughout the Aſſembly in favour of the King. *Pilate's* ſpeech was not attended with the ſame effect among the Jews.

mations

mations of the whole Aſſembly. The King, more and more affected, could ſcarcely articulate theſe words :—*My People may always depend upon my love.*

His Majeſty then confirmed the appointment of *M. Bailly* to the Mayoralty, and of *M. de la Fayette* to the rank of Commander-in-Chief of the Pariſian Militia.

This ceremony being over, the King ſhowed himſelf at one of the balconies of the *Hotel-de-Ville* to gratify the wiſhes and extreme impatience of the immenſe crowd of people gathered in the *Place-de-Greve*, at all the windows, and even upon the roofs of the houſes. The general cry of *Vive le Roi* then reſounded from every quarter, and rapture was at its height, when the cockade of inſurrection was perceived in his Majeſty's hat. Whether it were conſidered as a token of approbation, or of pardon for all the crimes with which it was ſtained, the ſhouts of *Vive le Roi* were redoubled with ſtill more violence; and the beating of the drums, and firing of the cannon, mixing with the acclamations, ſoon extended through the whole town the joy which broke out in ſo thundering a manner at the *Place-de-Grève.*

His

His Majesty's return presented a very different sight from that of his entering. Some of the Parisians, intoxicated with gratitude and love, were not satisfied with surrounding the King's carriage; they got up in crowds behind, on the box, on the footboard, and even on the roof. Some shouts of *Long live the Nation and Liberty* were again heard; but those of *Long live our King, our Friend, our Father*, were a thousand times more frequent. The armed citizens clubbed their fire-locks in token of peace; the King smiled benignly at their transports, and with his own hand reversed the musket of a man who stood in the first line, and whose eyes were so intent upon the carriage, that he had taken no notice of the manner in which his comrades held their arms. This action of his Majesty's was followed by loud shouts of applause from the multitude.

At the barrier the King met the retinue that had attended him to Paris, and, entering Seves, saw his *Gardes-du-Corps* running down the hill, where they had been waiting his return, and where they resumed their usual attendance on his person. Several of them rode on before to announce the

King's

King's arrival to the Royal Family, who from the length of his Majeſty's abſence had experienced the moſt dreadful anxiety. The Queen particularly was in a ſtate of grief and deſpair, of which it would be as difficult to deſcribe the anguiſh as to paint the tranſports of joy which ſucceeded it when her Majeſty heard the King's carriage drive into the *Cour-Royale*. She ran to meet him with the Dauphin in her arms, and threw herſelf breathleſs and almoſt lifeleſs into thoſe of her auguſt conſort, who was not leſs moved. The ſcene that followed was perhaps ſtill more affecting. What picture could be more intereſting to ſenſible minds than that of the delightful moment in which *Louis XVI*, reſtored to his diſconſolate family, and ſurrounded by the objects deareſt to him, reſigned one of his hands to the careſſes of his children, and with the other wiped away the tears from the cheeks of the Queen and Madame Elizabeth *,

* The immortal name of this unfortunate Princeſs will ever awaken the remembrance of all the angelic virtues that were treaſured in her heart, and perpetuate horror at the thoughts of thoſe monſters who were ſo ferocious as to ſhed her pure blood.

while

while he aſſuaged their bitterneſs by mingling his own with them. His anſwers to their queſtions, and the details he related to them of his journey, at length reſtored to their agitated minds joy, and happineſs, and hope.

CHAP.

CHAPTER XI.

Violent Insurrections at Poissy and St. Germain — Dangers and Humiliations experienced by some Members of the Assembly sent to calm the People—The Assembly save two Hussars whom the Populace of Versailles were going to hang—Insurrections in several Provinces—Motion for a Proclamation, by M. de Lally, opposed by Robespierre—M. de la Fayette removes the Apprehensions of the Assembly respecting the State of the Capital—M. Foulon and M. Berthier stopped by the People, and led away to the Hotel-de-Ville—Crimes of which they were accused—They are killed, and their Bodies torn to Pieces by the People—The Son of M. Berthier solicits the Interposition of the Assembly

Assembly in favour of his Father in vain —Horrible expression of the Deputy Barnave's—Character of M. Foulon, and of M. Berthier.

THE people in their effervescence may be made to go to any length, provided they are, or think that they are, led in the sense they annex to the idea, or rather to the word, which turns their brain; for there is no popular commotion, no insurrection, of which some word misunderstood is not the principle, and the rallying shout. *Liberty* has been that of the French Revolution. The people, who worshipped this word without knowing the real meaning of it, and who abhorred the word *Despotism* with as little knowledge of its signification, took up arms, and *rose in a mass**, to plant every where trees crowned with the cap of Liberty. They thought they should gain Liberty by rallying round tri-coloured standards on which that word was worked in large characters; yet they have hitherto struggled only to favour and consolidate the establishment of a most atrocious tyranny,

* This is a Revolutionary expression.

and

and all thoſe trees of Liberty, ſtill bearing its emblems, do but atteſt the impoſture of its pretended apoſtles, and the ſtupid credulity of their proſelytes.

What happineſs would France have owed to the National Aſſembly, if at the epocha of the 16th and 17th of July, inſtead of abuſing the confidence of *Louis XVI*, and the enthuſiaſm of the Pariſians, by completing the annihilation of the Royal authority, that Aſſembly had had the wiſdom to turn both to the advantage of real Liberty! Why did they not teach the people, that that political liberty of which ſo much was ſaid to them, conſiſted eſſentially in the neceſſity of the conſent of the Nation to the laws by which they were to be governed, to the taxes they were to pay, and in the perſonal reſponſibility of all the Agents of the Government; that that liberty, more real, more extenſive, under a Monarchy ſo limited than under any other form of Government, had no greater enemies than licentiouſneſs and anarchy? Why did they not eſtabliſh theſe facts and theſe principles in their Proclamations, in their Addreſſes, and in the Speeches of their orators? The reaſon is plain:—The immediate conſequence

muſt have been the reſtoring to the King the authority and power neceſſary for him to eſtabliſh order, and ſecure the execution of the laws; and that authority, that power, was preciſely what the Aſſembly, or the factions that ruled it, meant completely to uſurp. Accordingly, they haſtened to call back, to what they termed *the ſenſe of the Revolution*, the effervescence of Royaliſm which agitated the capital, and which would very ſoon have broken out all over the kingdom, where the enormities daily committed by *pretended patriots* had already inſpired regret for the good old times when the Marechauſſée prevented ſuch exceſſes *. But that tutelary force was ſoon to be diſbanded, either becauſe it was under the King, or becauſe it was the perpetual enemy of the brigands, who, being every where the neceſſary inſtruments or hired agents of the Re-

* The Marechauſſée, ſo uſeful and ſo little expenſive, for the whole body conſiſted, at the very utmoſt of 4000 men, ſufficed to maintain order and tranquillity throughout France. They were ſucceeded by three millions of National Guards; but ſo little have they ſupplied their place, that this Revolutionary Militia have been ſeen joining the brigands, and abetting crimes which they ought to have ſuppreſſed.

volution,

volution, could not fail to have powerful protectors in the Aſſembly. The indulgence and protection which were granted to all crimes, were cloaked under the maſk of patriotiſm and of popularity: but Hiſtory will tear this deceitful maſk from all thoſe who have borrowed it, and will completely expoſe their ſhame.

In the preceding chapters we have ſeen the annihilation of the Royal authority effected ſtep by ſtep. A very important epocha in the Hiſtory of the Revolution now opens; that in which the National Aſſembly break at once all the ſprings of the Government, and ſpread every where diſorder and deſtruction.

The Deputation that had accompanied the King to Paris, went on their return to the Aſſembly, who were ſtill ſitting, and gave an account of all that had paſſed at the *Hotel-de-Ville*, and on the road. The report was often interrupted by acclamations and the moſt rapturous applauſes. Before the cloſe, however, of this very Sitting, the Mayor of *Poiſſy*, being admitted to the bar, informed the Aſſembly of ſeveral crimes committed by armed men, in the towns of Poiſſy and St. Germain, under pretence of

ſuppoſed monopolies, of which a rich farmer in the neighbourhood, of the name of *Thomaſſin*, was accuſed; but upon its being obſerved, that this was an object to which the Legiſlative Power did not extend, that there was an Executive Power and Criminal Courts appointed to maintain public tranquillity, the demand of the Mayor of *Poiſſy*, praying that the National Aſſembly would ſuppreſs the diſorders of which he complained, was not acceded to. This reſpect paid to the King's authority might have given an idea that it was ſtill exiſting; but the Aſſembly did not long allow this error to remain. The very next day, at the opening of the Sitting, the debate on the commotions of Poiſſy was reſumed. *Thomaſſin's* life was declared to be in the moſt imminent danger; and it was ſaid that the bourgeois militia were going to hang him. It was then moved, not to have recourſe to the King's authority, but to ſend a Deputation to Poiſſy to procure a pardon for the unfortunate *Thomaſſin*. This motion was adopted, and twelve members of the Aſſembly being named for a Deputation, immediately ſet off for Poiſſy and St. Germain.

At the ſame time the Deputies of Dauphiné

phiné informed the Assembly of a general insurrection which the news of Mr. *Necker's* dismission had excited in their province:— "All the inhabitants," said they, "are taking up arms to defend their liberty and that of their Representatives." A member of the Nobility coming in at that moment interrupted the narrative of these gentlemen, to say that the bourgeois militia of Versailles had just seized two hussars at the door of the Hall, who were suspected of being spies, or of having some ill designs, and that they were talking of hanging them. On hearing this, several Deputies rushed towards the door, and ran to the assistance of the poor hussars, whose only crime was having had the curiosity, as they were passing, to see a Sitting of the Representatives of the Nation. Fortunately, the mob agreed to deliver them up to the Deputies, who conducted them into one of the Halls, where they remained till they could leave it without danger.

These acts of violence, committed almost under the eyes of the King and of the National Assembly, must naturally have created apprehensions of their soon becoming more frequent and more serious, at a distance farther removed from means of suppression.

On theſe grounds ſeveral Deputies propoſed that the Aſſembly ſhould proceed, before they attended to any thing elſe, to conſider of the propereſt meaſures to re-eſtabliſh and maintain public tranquillity. Some were for employing the Marechauſſée for that purpoſe; others thought the aſſiſtance of the troops abſolutely neceſſary, and that they ought to be diſtributed in the towns and country places. Theſe motions experienced the ſtrongeſt oppoſition. "To recall the "troops now," ſaid *Volney* the Deputy, "is to recall alarm; we ought to employ "*our own forces*, and intereſt the people in "their preſervation."

The inſtitution of bourgeois militia extended to every Municipality, and, under their direction, was conſidered by the majority of the Aſſembly as the propereſt means to prevent all exceſſes. This was ſeeking a remedy for the evil in the chief cauſe of it. It is not the only miſtake of this kind that the Aſſembly have made, and not always blindly. However, they debated for ſome time on theſe different motions, without adopting any of them; nor was the ſubject even mentioned in the following Sitting, which was almoſt entirely ſpent in reading

Addreſſes

Addreſſes of attachment, admiration, reſpect, and gratitude, from the different towns and communes*, and in attending to

* Theſe Addreſſes, drawn up at Verſailles by the *Breton* Club, were ſent to truſty agents in all the provinces, with directions to return them with as many ſignatures as they could procure; but great care was taken to conceal all the Counter-Addreſſes. They were collected by the Viſcount *de Mirabeau*, who was at that time Secretary to the Aſſembly, and who continued in that office ſix weeks. He intended to have publiſhed a comparative ſtatement of the Addreſſes, and to have proved, by an exact calculation of the ſignatures, that the number of thoſe who were diſcontented, and complained of the Aſſembly, was much greater than that of their ſupporters. But the public bickerings which the Viſcount *de Mirabeau* had with ſome of the leading men among the factious, and his bitter ſarcaſms againſt the Revolution and its authors, expoſing him every day to the danger of having his houſe plundered by the populace, he depoſited all his papers, and among them the collection of thoſe Addreſſes, in the hands of the Preſident *de Frondeville;* who made an eſtimate of them himſelf, which he compared with the ſtatement that the Viſcount *de Mirabeau* had cauſed to be made, at a great expence, by a clerk of the Archives, of all the ſignatures to the Addreſſes which were read to the Aſſembly; and *M. de Frondeville* has aſſured me, that at that period the number of the complainants amounted to a fifth more than that of the ſupporters of the Aſſembly. By the time this buſineſs was completed, the rapid progreſs of the Revolution rendered it uſeleſs, and prevented the publication of it.

the report of the Deputation ſent to Poiſſy. *Thomaſſin* was ſaved, that is to ſay, by being ſent to priſon, for priſons had already become the only aſylums left to innocence againſt the fury of Liberty. It was not without trouble and danger that the Deputation obtained for that honeſt farmer the ſignal favour of being tried before he was hanged; he had been dragged from his priſon, in ſpite of the pathetic exhortations of the Biſhop of *Chartres*, who was the Speaker of the Deputation; and the crowd were only waiting for a confeſſor and the gallows, which had been ſent for. In that interval *Thomaſſin*, the Biſhop of *Chartres*, and his colleagues, threw themſelves on their knees in the midſt of thoſe furies, and at length obtained conſent, by dint of ſupplications and tears, that he ſhould be delivered over to juſtice. The mob allowed him to depart with the Deputies, whom at the ſame time they threatened to hang, if he were ſpared. It was feared at firſt, that the people would fire into the Biſhop of *Chartres's* carriage, in which *Thomaſſin* was. Some of the inhabitants of Poiſſy accompanied the Deputation, and conducted them by croſs-roads, in order to avoid St. Germain. On their way

way they met ſeveral mobs of women who would have ſtoned them to death, and from whom they could not have eſcaped had they not been guarded. At length, after a very ſlow, painful, and alarming journey, they arrived at Verſailles, and lodged *Thomaſſin* in priſon.

The Aſſembly, on hearing theſe facts related, laviſhed the higheſt praiſes on the courage, the wiſdom, and the patriotiſm of the Deputation, and particularly on the conduct of the Biſhop of *Chartres;* a motion was made, and unanimouſly paſſed, to decree him a civic crown. No doubt he had ſaved *Thomaſſin's* life; but at what price? By ſubjecting the National Repreſentation to the moſt ſhameful humiliation, by proſtrating it at the feet of a vile rabble, which fifty dragoons or a few diviſions of the Marechauſſée would have put to flight, had the King ſtill retained his authority. But that was overturned, and in its fall had precipitated into the hands of the populace; for ſuch, in the revolution of Empires, is ever the firſt effect of diſplacing the ſupreme power, which muſt have force, and force is found in number. So a rock torn by ſome violent concuſſion from the ſummit of a

lofty

lofty mountain falls with rapidity, nor ſtops till it can fall no lower.

In the Sitting of the 20th of July *M. de Lally* gave notice of new inſurrections in Normandy, Burgundy, and at Pontoiſe; and he moved that a Proclamation be iſſued, in which "all Frenchmen ſhould be invited to "peace, to the love of order, to reſpect for "the laws, to fidelity to the King, and to "an entire confidence *in the perfect har-* "*mony* which ſubſiſted between the Head "and the Repreſentatives of the Nation." This Proclamation was to authorize the Municipalities to raiſe bourgeois militia, and to recommend it to them to admit only ſuch citizens as were incapable of acting prejudicially to the Country, and capable of defending it. It was further to declare, that every man ſuſpected, accuſed, and arreſted, ſhould be delivered up to juſtice.

This project for a Proclamation was ſupported by ſome of the members of the Aſſembly, and oppoſed by others. "We "may love peace," ſaid *Robeſpierre*, "but "we ought alſo to love liberty: and ſuch "a Proclamation may give uneaſineſs to "thoſe who have defended liberty; it may "ſpread alarm, and ſhake confidence."

M. de

M. de Lally's anſwer to all the objections urged againſt his motion produced a long debate, during which the Preſident received a letter from *M. de la Fayette*, in which he gave an account of all the meaſures he had taken to ſecure the tranquillity of the capital. This letter diſpelled the uneaſineſs of the Aſſembly, and ſilenced thoſe who were for immediately adopting *M. de Lally's* Proclamation; and it was thought better to ſubmit it to the examination of the Committees before any reſolution was taken upon it.

M. de la Fayette's meaſures were perhaps extremely judicious, probably very patriotic, but certainly very inadequate, and their inefficacy ſoon appeared.

M. Foulon, who had been appointed Director of the War Department under Marſhal *Broglio*, had diſappeared at the time of the retreat of the new Miniſters. A report of his death had been ſpread; and the extraordinary pomp with which one of his ſervants was buried at that period gave grounds for the report. Unhappily for him it was diſcovered that he had retired to Viry, an eſtate belonging to his friend *M. de Sartine*, near Paris. The caution he took to conceal himſelf excited ſuſpicions, and ſoon became

became the talk of the village. The men on one of his eſtates not far from Viry hearing of it, went and demanded a guard of the Pariſians to arreſt and carry him to Paris. A great number of them arrived at Viry on the 22d of July, at four o'clock in the morning, and found *M. Foulon* already up and walking alone in the park: they ruſhed furiouſly upon him; and after they had treated him with every ſort of inſult and indignity, they dreſſed him with a collar of nettles, a bunch of thiſtles for a noſegay, and a bundle of hay upon his back, as a puniſhment *for having wiſhed to make the people eat hay;* or for having ſaid that hay was good enough for the people to eat;—ſuch being the ridiculous crimes of which he was accuſed. In that ſtate was he conducted to the *Hotel-de-Ville* in Paris, and delivered over to a Committee, who, after a long examination, were for ſending him to priſon, and ordering his trial. But a multitude of people already collected on the *Place-de-Grève* were calling out vociferouſly for his execution. It was certain that he would be maſſacred if he left the *Hotel-de-Ville* before the populace, who were watching for him at every gate, were diſperſed; ſo that the firſt thing to have been

been done, had the Committee been inclined, or had they dared to ſave him, was to have cleared the ſquare; and if this meaſure had not been forgotten in *M. de la Fayette's grand plan* for the re-eſtabliſhment of public tranquillity, it might have been executed without violence, and even with all the attentions, with all the politeneſs that might have been required by the *Nation*; for ſo every mob, great or ſmall, now entitled themſelves. The purpoſe would have been anſwered if the Commander-General of the bourgeois militia had ſent into all the Diſtricts, and iſſued orders for the reſpective battalions to march at noon to the *Place-de-Grève* in order to be reviewed: as they came on, the crowd, forced to ſeparate to make way for them, would have been gradually thrown back on the adjoining ſtreets, and would have ſoon diſperſed. There would then have been no danger in conveying *M. Foulon* from the *Hotel-de-Ville* to priſon. But the Committee imagined that by gaining time the fury of the people would ſpend itſelf, and that at the hour of dinner the crowd would diſperſe of their own accord. With this hope *M. Foulon* was detained at the *Hotel-de-Ville* all the morning and part of the afternoon.

noon. From time to time the Mayor and ſome Members of the Committee endeavoured to prevail on the people to liſten to the voice of juſtice, reaſon, and humanity. "*M. Foulon*," ſaid they, "may be guilty, "but he ought not to be condemned without being heard. He was connected with "the new Miniſtry, and no doubt one of "the heads of the conſpiracy: information "of the greateſt importance reſpecting that "abominable plot may be obtained from "him, and it is of the greateſt conſequence "to preſerve a man who may give a clue to "the whole; for the ſalvation of the country "may depend upon it."

Theſe reaſons made an impreſſion upon the ſmall number of perſons who were within hearing; but the blood-thirſty multitude grew exaſperated at the delay in the deliberations of the Committee, ſet up at intervals the moſt frightful howlings, and inſiſted upon having their victim. The more furious, not able to command their impatience, ruſhed in a body upon the guard, forced the doors of the *Hotel-de-Ville*, and making up to *M. Foulon* ſeized him in the Hall where the Committee were ſitting. At this horrible moment there was but one way

way left of ſaving this unfortunate old man, and that *M. de la Fayette* employed with much addreſs. "Citizens," he cried, "I "cannot blame your rage and indignation "againſt this man; I never eſteemed him, "and have always conſidered him as a "great villain. Do you wiſh he ſhould be "puniſhed? We wiſh it too, and puniſhed "he ſhall be. But he has accomplices, "and it is neceſſary we ſhould know them. "I ſhall order him to be carried to the "*Abbaye St. Germain*; inſtructions ſhall be "given for his trial, and he ſhall be con-"demned according to law to the infamous "death he has but too well merited."

This ſpeech ſatisfied them all, and was greatly applauded. It would have had all the ſucceſs intended by *M. de la Fayette*, had not *M. Foulon*, wild with joy at finding himſelf ſaved, had the imprudence to clap his hands with the reſt. *They are conniving, they want to ſave him*, became immediately the cry of the multitude, who reſolving to hear no more, laid hold of *M. Foulon*, and in a moment dragged him to the foot of the fatal lantern; nor could *M. de la Fayette*, now himſelf ſuſpected, make the ſlighteſt oppoſition to it. At this frightful inſtant

inſtant his courage and his underſtanding entirely forſook him. He was ordered to fall on his knees, to beg pardon of God, the Nation, and the King. One of the mob gave him his hand to kiſs. He ſubmitted without reſiſtance to all theſe humiliations, and to all the abuſe with which they were accompanied. He never ceaſed begging pardon of the people, and ſupplicating them to ſpare his life; but the groſſeſt inſults, and the ferocious cry of *To the lantern, to the lantern*, were the only anſwers his prayers obtained. At laſt the fatal rope is fixed, he is drawn up:—the rope breaks, he falls on his knees, and implores the compaſſion of the people; again the rope is tied, and again it breaks. Soldiers offer their arms to put an end to his torture; but his executioners prolong it by choice, and wait for a new rope. At length it is brought, and terminates the moſt dreadful and ſhocking execution. Scarcely is he dead, when his murderers diſpute for his body and pieces of his clothes; they ſtuff hay into his mouth, carry his head about on the end of a pike, and drag his body, naked, bruiſed, and mutilated, through the dirt.

At

At this time it was heard that *M. Berthier*, who had been arrested at Compiegne, was on the way near town, escorted by one of the Electors of Paris and 400 National troopers who had been sent for him. He was accused of being one of the principal agents of the pretended conspiracy of the Ministers, because, as Intendant of the Generality of Paris, he had filled the offices of Comptroller of the Army, and of the different military corps cantoned in the environs of the Capital under the command of Marshal *Broglio*. He was taxed with interfering to supply them with provisions, ammunition, and the like: he was besides known to be the son-in-law of *M. Foulon*, which at that horrible crisis was of itself a crime sufficient to devote him to the rage of the monsters who had just been sacrificing his father-in-law.

Through all the villages on the road between Paris and Compiegne, *M. Berthier*, though grossly insulted and threatened by the populace, never lost the least of his composure. The Elector who accompanied him, and with whom he conversed throughout the journey with the greatest tranquillity, was surprised at his courage, and felt esteem and

reſpect for him. The lively intereſt which he ſoon felt for the ſituation of that magiſtrate, made him ſenſible how odious a commiſſion he was executing, and his regret for having undertaken it was alleviated only by the hope, that it would put it in his power to be of important ſervice to him in the Committee*. He little knew what was then paſſing at Paris. Scarcely had the chaiſe in which he was conveying his priſoner arrived at the barrier, when the populace ſtopped it and took the top of it off, that all who were not ſufficiently near to the carriage to take an active part in the outrages with which the Intendant was to be overwhelmed, might at leaſt have the ſatisfaction of feaſting their eyes with the atrocious ſight. Five or ſix hundred horſemen with ſwords drawn, and ſoldiers of different corps marching with their drums and colours, ſerved as a guard for the carriage: in the

* The name of this Elector was *La Riviere*, and it was from himſelf I received theſe particulars. I had an opportunity of knowing him in 1792, as he was at that time a Juſtice of the Peace, and the perſon who, on the complaints lodged by *M. de Montmorin* and myſelf, ordered the proceedings relative to the pretended Auſtrian Committee.

crowd that ſurrounded it were perſons crowned with laurel, and women ſinging and dancing to military muſic. This ſinging was frequently interrupted by the moſt ſanguinary vociferations, and by the ſpeeches of the honeſt Elector addreſſed to thoſe furies, to moderate their rage and ſave the life of his priſoner, whom he was afraid of ſeeing maſſacred at his ſide. *M. Berthier*, ſupported by that extraordinary energy which reſults from a conſcience void of offence, ſurveyed all this tumult without appearing uneaſy at it: but when *M. Foulon*'s head was thruſt before him on the end of a pike, his ſoul was frozen with horror. The monſters that carried it wanted to force him to kiſs it; but the Elector, ſhocked at this exceſs of barbarity, was fortunate enough to ſucceed in preventing it.

M. Berthier, being at length arrived at the *Hotel-de-Ville*, was conducted to the Committee, by whom he was examined on his conduct, on the projects of the Miniſters, on the plan of the pretended conſpiracy, and ſo forth. He replied with confidence, "I have done nothing but by ſuperior "orders, which it was my duty to obey: "you will find them in my portfolio; you

" have my correſpondence, all my papers; " you know as much as I do. I beg you will " obſerve that I am ſo overcome with fa- " tigue and the want of ſleep, not having " cloſed my eyes for two days, that it is " impoſſible for me to anſwer you more " circumſtantially at preſent. I requeſt to " be ſhown to ſome place where I may " take a little reſt."

While they were debating this requeſt, the *Hotel-de-Ville* and the *Place-de-Grève* reſounded with the moſt violent clamours. The Committee, alarmed at thoſe ſhouts of death, and fearing leſt the people ſhould force in and carry off *M. Berthier* from them, decided upon ſending him to the *Abbaye*. But in what manner was he to be extricated from the dangers of croſſing a furious mob, over whom the ſoldiers had no power; or rather, in favour of whom they were inclined to exert what power they had? He was put under a ſtrong guard, while *M. Bailly* and *M. de la Fayette*, on different ſides, harangued, ſupplicated, and conjured thoſe who would liſten to them; but their ſpeeches and prayers were anſwered only by the moſt horrid imprecations. No ſooner was *M. Berthier* perceived on the ſteps

ſteps of the Hotel, than a crowd of aſſaſſins ſprang upon him, and dragged him to the ſame *lantern* where *M. Foulon* had been hanged. He ſaw the rope ready to be the inſtrument of the ſame fate upon himſelf. Tranſported with rage at the ſight, he ſuddenly wrenches from a ſoldier the firſt muſket he can lay his hand upon, and with repeated blows attacks the crowd of tigers preſſing round him, but in an inſtant falls himſelf beneath a number of bayonets. He was at leaſt indebted to his courage for a death leſs lingering and leſs ignominious than that of his father-in-law. One of his aſſaſſins perceiving that he ſtill breathed, had the unparalleled barbarity to plunge his hand into the wideſt of his wounds, in order to grope to his heart, which he tore out, and, carrying it in triumph, laid it palpitating upon the table of the Committee of Electors. No doubt it was to thoſe Miniſters of the Sovereignty of the People that the firſt fruits of the tree of Liberty were due.

The Committee, ſtupefied with horror at the ſight of this horrible trophy, had not even the thought to cauſe the execrable monſter who offered it them to be arreſted. They allowed him without a word to take

up the heart again, to fix it to the point of his ſword, and parade it through the ſtreets behind the heads of *M. Foulon* and *M. Berthier*. There was but one thing more wanting to the ferocity of thoſe cannibals, and this they completed in the evening by giving the people a ſight of the moſt abominable feaſting.

During the execution of *M. Foulon*, *M. Berthier*'s ſon, dreading that the ſame fate would befall his father who was on his way to Paris, haſtened to Verſailles to implore the interpoſition of the Aſſembly in his favour. On his arrival, the firſt thing he did was to throw himſelf into the arms of *M. de Lally*, and burſting into tears, he ſaid to him: "Your filial piety and eloquence "ſaved the honour of your father; I con-"jure you, Sir, to ſave the life of mine." *M. de Lally* flew immediately to the Aſſembly, and pleaded this intereſting cauſe with all the energy and ſenſibility natural to him. The majority of the Aſſembly were extremely affected; but as they could take no meaſure which would not be ineffectual, or prove too late, they contented themſelves with hoping that this new crime would not be committed. It was on this occaſion that a young

a young Deputy from Dauphiné (*Barnave*), who doubtleſs had never known his father, ſuffered the following ſhocking expreſſion to eſcape him, which only a *Robeſpierre* could have heard without ſhuddering: *Is the blood that is ſpilt then ſo pure?*

The crimes with which *M. Foulon* was charged, were all as imaginary as the pretended conſpiracy attributed to the new Miniſters. The trivial expreſſion of, *Thoſe people are brutes fit to eat hay*, was perhaps too frequently in his mouth; but it was certainly nothing more than an expletive, and far from being accompanied with the abſurd idea of reducing the people *to eat nothing but hay*. *M. Foulon*'s only fault, or, to ſpeak more properly, his greateſt misfortune, was a conſtant ambition to be in the Miniſtry, without talents neceſſary to fill the important offices of it in times ſo difficult. He was a man of the moſt ordinary abilities I ever knew: mediocrity may be allowed to be a defect, but certainly it is not a fault, and much leſs a crime.

The ambition which was the ruin of *M. Foulon*, would have been better placed in his ſon-in-law. *M. Berthier* was one of

the moſt diſtinguiſhed among the worthy Intendants of the Kingdom for his merit, his talents, and his knowledge in adminiſtration; and in ſpite of the atrocious calumnies that have been caſt upon him, it is evident that the affairs of Paris were never better conducted, or directed by a more able, zealous, or benevolent Magiſtrate. As I was not connected with him, the reſpect I now pay his memory is dictated alone by juſtice and truth.

CHAP-

CHAPTER XII.

Character of the Parisians—Proclamation of the Assembly—General arming of the Populace urged by the Factious — Consequences — First atrocious Attempts against the Nobility in Franche-Comté—The Circumstances that gave rise to them—Inconsistency of the Conduct of the Assembly — Country-seats burnt and pillaged throughout the Kingdom—Long Debates occasioned by Letters found upon the Baron de Castelnau — An admirable Speech from Mirabeau—A Letter from Mr. Necker announcing his Return — The Abbé Maury arrested at Peronne—A Letter from the Municipality of that Town to the

the Aſſembly—Liſt of Proſcriptions—Violent State of the Provinces neareſt the Capital—M. de Cazales arreſted.

IT is remarkable in the character of the Pariſians, that from the outſet of the Revolution, they had fallen into a habit of poſtponing till the next day the manifeſtation of their horror at the crimes they ſuffered to be committed. That which they felt at the murder of *M. Foulon* and *M. Berthier* did not break forth till the day following, and then ſpent itſelf in vain imprecations againſt their murderers. This tardy and paſſive indignation, or rather this conſtant timidity of the good, has for nine years paſt expoſed their lives and fortunes to the mercy of a horde of ruffians, on whom the Revolution has beſtowed the excluſive privilege of pillaging and aſſaſſinating as long as there ſhall be property and proprietors.

What a dreadful day was that for *M. de la Fayette* on which, though Commander General of the whole armed force of the Capital, having forty thouſand of the bourgeois militia under him, he nevertheleſs ſaw himſelf reduced to be the mere paſſive ſpectator, and in ſome ſort the Preſident, of the moſt

moſt ſavage ſcenes of the Revolution! Deſperate, and humbled at his want of power, he would have given in his reſignation, but the oaths of obedience taken by the battalions, and *M. Bailly's* entreaties, prevailed upon him to continue his command.

The Aſſembly, who had for ſome days waſted a great deal of time in diſcuſſing and modifying *M. de Lally's* ſcheme of a Proclamation for re-eſtabliſhing public tranquillity, reſolved at laſt to adopt it with amendments; but confuſion and diſorder were now ſpread through every part of the Kingdom. The reports raiſed at once in all the provinces of a grand conſpiracy againſt Liberty, and of the approach of pretended bands of brigands, who were cutting down and burning the harveſts, had ſerved as a pretext for a general arming of the populace. Large detachments formed under the name of *Citizen Soldiers*, to diſtinguiſh them from the troops of the line, now firſt called *Soldier Citizens*, were inceſſantly running over the country to diſperſe thoſe formidable brigands who were no where to be found; and in a very ſhort time the *Citizen Soldiers* went in queſt of them among farms, and in particular among the country-ſeats of the Nobility and

and Gentry. None were exempt from thoſe patriotic viſits, another pretext for which was the ſearch for arms, and of which the plundering of the cellars and of every kind of proviſions was the leaſt inconvenience. Murder and fire were frequently the conſequences of them; and thoſe crimes were always juſtified, or at leaſt palliated, by the proſcribing ſuſpicion of *ariſtocracy*, *inciviſm*, *conſpiracy*, and the like. Complaints and denunciations without number daily informed the Aſſembly of all thoſe enormities; but they ſaw no other remedy for them than the new Conſtitution upon which they were going to work: and in the mean time, full of confidence in the flattering Addreſſes which they received from ſome Municipalities, they conſoled themſelves for all private misfortunes by contemplating the general happineſs, which already was, or which they thought was, the fruit of their labours.

The moſt ſerious outrages againſt the Nobility firſt broke out and were moſt frequent in Franche-Comté. They began from a circumſtance as innocent as it was fatal.—*M. de Memmay*, a magiſtrate of the Parliament of Beſançon, had given an entertainment

ment at his ſeat at Quincey to the inhabitants and to the garriſon of Veſoul, in honour *of the happy union between the King and the National Aſſembly*. He had announced that all who choſe to viſit his ſeat on Sunday the 19th of July ſhould find fiddles and refreſhments; and that, leſt his preſence as a magiſtrate might prove a reſtraint to the gaiety of the feaſt, he ſhould not remain at home himſelf. This invitation drew a great number of the citizens of Veſoul and ſome of the ſoldiers of the garriſon to Quincey-houſe. While they were amuſing themſelves, a barrel of gunpowder in an out-houſe blew up, by which ſeveral perſons were wounded, and ſome, but very few, killed. Without a moment's conſideration it was believed, and every where rumoured, that it had been *M. de Memmay's* intention to blow up the inhabitants and garriſon of Veſoul at once; that ſuch was the deſign of the feaſt to which he had invited them; and that to execute this infernal plot he had prepared a mine under the place where they were to aſſemble, which he had ſprung, or ordered to be ſprung, by means of a long train.

The officer of the Marechauſſée at Veſoul

made a minute of this ſtory in his journal, without having ſcrutinized the fact, and that minute was read to the National Aſſembly by one of the Deputies for Franche-Comté:—he added to it ſome circumſtances of the exceſſes committed, and that were continued by the exaſperated people. "The whole "country was in commotion; the people "had armed themſelves with all kinds of "weapons; they had attacked the neigh-"bouring ſeats, were burning and plunder-"ing the archives of the Nobility, forcing "them to renounce their rights; they had "demoliſhed ſeveral country houſes, ſet a "Ciſtercian Abbey on fire, &c."

It is not wonderful that the people, hearing of nothing but the conſpiracies of the Ariſtocrats, and unacquainted with the cauſe of the event at Quincey, ſhould accuſe *M. de Memmay* of it, although it did not appear that he had any motive for animoſity againſt the inhabitants of Veſoul. He was a gentleman, and a member of the Parliament; which was more than enough to prove his crime, and to authoriſe, in the ſight of a furious mob, the moſt violent acts of vengeance againſt him and againſt the two claſſes of Ariſtocrats to which he belonged. But

ſhould

ſhould the Repreſentatives of the Nation have been infected with this delirium? Should they, upon a vague minute deſtitute of proof, and by which too it appeared that *M. Memmay* was abſent, have preſumed that magiſtrate guilty of a crime which they had no rational grounds, no probability for imputing to him? A ſimple accident might have been, and in fact was, the cauſe of the melancholy event that happened at Quincey *. Why not admit a preſumption ſo natural? Are we at liberty to reject preſumptions that are in favour of innocence? The Aſſembly, far from attending to theſe, charged their Preſident to wait upon the King, to obtain of his Majeſty an order directing all the Miniſters reſiding at foreign

* It was proved judicially, that at the period when the feaſt was given by *M. Memmay* to the inhabitants of Veſoul, he was ſetting vines in a ſtony ſoil, where he was often obliged to blow up the greater rocks. Some ſoldiers running through, and ferreting every where in the houſe and out-houſes, unfortunately took a candle to the dark corner where the barrel of gunpowder was lodged, and ſet it on fire, in trying to ſee if it contained wine. Theſe facts, reported and atteſted in a Memorial drawn up by *M. Courvoiſier*, ſo completely juſtified *M. de Memmay*, that the Aſſembly could not avoid teſtifying his innocence by a Decree iſſued the 4th of June.

Courts

Courts to cauſe a ſtrict ſearch to be made for the criminal, and to apply for his being taken up; and alſo to apply to him to authoriſe the judge of the place, where the crime had been committed, to enter a proſecution againſt the author of ſo execrable an action, to bring him to trial, and paſs ſentence upon him without appeal. It is to be obſerved, that as a member of the Parliament, he could be tried only by the Courts of the Parliament of Beſançon.

The extreme rigour diſplayed againſt *M. de Memmay*, by that very Aſſembly who a few days before had ſuffered the Governor of the Baſtille, the *Prevôt des Marchands M. Foulon*, and his ſon-in-law, to be maſſacred almoſt under their eyes, without giving any direction whatever for a proſecution againſt the criminals, ſeemed to have no other view than that of enraging the people more and more againſt the Nobility and againſt the Magiſtracy; it was almoſt telling them in plain terms that there was nothing they might not attempt with impunity againſt the *Ariſtocrats*, for whom alone the Aſſembly reſerved their ſeverity. "We muſt not allow ourſelves to be too much alarmed at "the ſtorms inſeparable from the commo-

"tions

" tions of a Revolution," ſaid *Barnave*, in the Sitting of the 23d of July which was the day after the maſſacre of *Foulon* and *Berthier*, " the principal object is to form " the Conſtitution and to ſecure Liberty. " We may afterwards attend to ſecuring le- " gal puniſhments for State crimes—(*pre-* " *tended conſpiracies*)–then the People will " be pacified, and return of themſelves to " order." This language the People but too well underſtood, and they have in conſequence committed crimes without number; but the blame is to be imputed leſs to them than to thoſe by whom they have been miſled.

The full account of the dreadful conſpiracy at Quincey *, which was diſperſed throughout the Kingdom, containing the moſt atrocious exaggerations, imprecations, and cries for vengeance againſt the Nobility, became in a manner the manifeſto of the war then declared againſt all country-ſeats throughout the provinces. The example of the inhabitants of Veſoul was every

* Theſe words were every day roared through the ſtreets of Paris by the hawkers of the Revolutionary Journals.

where followed with more or leſs fury, but ever with the ſame impunity. The aſſaſſination of gentlemen, the carrying off of their title-deeds, and the pillage and demolition of their ſeats, were no longer conſidered in any other light than as acts of eager patriotiſm. In thoſe Communes where the old cuſtom of loving and obeying the King ſtill prevailed over the new-fangled patriotiſm, forged orders with the King's name were ſhown to the inhabitants, in which were injunctions to commit every manner of crime; and when they were accuſed before the Aſſembly, there were ſpeakers ſo ſtupid, or ſo loſt to ſhame, as to maintain that the Noblemen themſelves ſet fire to their houſes to have an opportunity to calumniate the People. This charge was chiefly directed againſt thoſe whom the certainty of being murdered had reduced to the neceſſity of flying their country. Hence aroſe that ſanguinary juriſprudence which makes all Emigrants without diſtinction traitors to their Country, and condemns them to death as a puniſhment for having had recourſe to the only means left of ſaving their lives.

The Factious knew very well that the People

ple are like thoſe ponderous maſſes which it is always more difficult to ſet in motion, than to direct to a propoſed end when once they are ſtirred; and they neglected no means to keep their minds in a ſtate of continual agitation and alarm. Their ſpeakers in the Aſſembly, their incendiaries at the *Palais-Royal*, and their truſty journaliſts, had every day ſome freſh conſpiracy to announce. A packet taken on the night between the 22d and 23d of July upon the Baron *de Caſtelnau**, and the fragments of a letter which he had torn at the moment of his being arreſted, furniſhed matter for moſt violent declamation in the Sitting of the 25th. The packet, containing three letters that had been opened, and one that was ſealed, directed to the Count *d'Artois*, had been delivered the day before by a member of the Commune of Paris, from the Permanent Committee to the Preſident of the Aſſembly, (the Duke *de Liancourt*) who, thinking himſelf bound to reſpect private correſpondence as ſacred, would not read any of them, but returned them all to the Permanent Committee. The firſt ſenſation felt by the Aſ-

* The French Miniſter at Geneva.

ſembly led them to applaud the Preſident's delicacy, and the purity of its principle; but ſoon after, ſome Deputies ſtarted the queſtion, whether, in the dreadful ſituation of affairs at that time, the Aſſembly were not entitled to open letters that might throw great light upon the conſpiracies againſt public liberty. "In time of war," it was ſaid, "the opening of all letters is permitted; "we may conſider ourſelves, and really "are, in a ſtate of war; and are therefore "authoriſed to intercept and break open all "letters coming from ſuſpected countries "or perſons, and all thoſe who take flight "ſhould be looked upon as ſuch; therefore, "the letters in queſtion, and all that have "beeen intercepted ſince the commotions in "Paris or the provinces, ought to be depoſited in a ſafe place, to be laid before the "National Aſſembly when they think proper." The Biſhop of *Langres* (*La Luzerne*) propoſed, on the contrary, to follow the example of *Pompey* the Great, who after a violent fermentation in his country, and a civil war, had the generoſity and greatneſs of ſoul to burn all letters which might keep alive the remembrance of the woeful events and misfortunes of the country.

try. This debate proceeding to great length, and growing warmer and warmer, *Mirabeau* roſe, and, with that imperious and paſſionate tone which characteriſed his ſtyle of eloquence, ſilenced all oppoſition by the following Speech:

" Is it the part of a People deſirous of " becoming free, to borrow their maxims " and examples from tyranny? Is it proper " for them to give a ſtab to morality, after " having been ſo long the victims of thoſe " who violated it? Let thoſe vulgar poli- " ticians, who exalt above juſtice what in " their narrow conceptions they dare to call " *public utility*; let thoſe politicians at " leaſt tell us what intereſt can palliate ſuch " a violation of National honour. What " ſhall we learn by the ſhameful inquiſition " of letters? Paltry and filthy intrigues, " ſcandalous anecdotes, and contemptible " frivolity. Is it imagined that plots are " circulating by the poſt? Is it imagined " that new politics of any importance paſs " through that channel? Is there any em- " baſſy of conſequence, any negotiation of an " extraordinary nature, that is not carried on " in a direct correſpondence, and which does " not defy the prying of the Poſt-office?

" Without any manner of uſe, then, ſhould
" we violate the ſecrets of families, the in-
" tercourſe of the abſent, the intimacies of
" friendſhip, and the confidence between
" man and man. So criminal a procedure
" would not even have an excuſe; and it
" would be ſaid of us throughout Europe,
" *that in France, under pretence of pub-*
" *lic ſafety, they deprive the inhabitants*
" *of all right to letters which are the pro-*
" *ductions of the heart, and the treaſure*
" *of confidence. This laſt refuge of Li-*
" *berty has been violated even by thoſe*
" *whom the Nation deputed to ſecure its*
" *rights. They have left a precedent by*
" *which the moſt ſecret communications of*
" *the ſoul, the mereſt chance conjecture of*
" *the mind, the emotions of anger often*
" *miſplaced, errors often corrected the next*
" *moment, may be turned into depoſitions*
" *againſt third perſons; by which the citi-*
" *zen, the friend, the ſon, the father, may*
" *thus become the accuſers of each other,*
" *without knowing it; by which they*
" *may be the means of deſtruction to each*
" *other; for the National Aſſembly have*
" *declared, that they will take as the*
" *grounds of their deciſions, ambiguous*

" *and*

" *and intercepted communications, which* " *they cannot obtain but by a crime.*"

This ſpeech determined the Aſſembly to paſs to the order of the day. The ſubject, however, was reſumed in the next Sitting. *Robeſpierre* maintained that the Aſſembly had no right to refuſe papers denounced by the public opinion, ſent by the Mayor of the Capital as of eſſential importance, and neceſſary to the diſcovery of the moſt fatal conſpiracy that ever exiſted. This opinion was warmly ſupported by ſome, and oppoſed by others; but the reaſons on which the Aſſembly had rejected it having loſt nothing of their force, it was again reſolved, *that there was no room to deliberate.*

The arrival of a letter from Mr. *Necker* announcing his return, diſſipated for a moment the diſcordant ideas and gloomy paſſions which agitated the Aſſembly; *the great man, the virtuous man, the guardian-angel of France, of Liberty*, and above all of the Revolution, *was coming to reſume the helm of affairs*, and every heart muſt expand with confidence and happineſs. The reading of this letter * was interrupted at

* See Appendix, No. iii.

every ſentence by the loudeſt applauſes. Another letter was then read from the Municipal Officers of Peronne, in which they informed the Aſſembly of their having arreſted the Abbé *Maury*, who, they ſaid, under pretence of going to obtain new powers from his conſtituents meant to take a different road from that which led back to the National Aſſembly. This circumſtance had determined the Municipality and bourgeois guard to ſecure his perſon till the Aſſembly ſhould make their pleaſure known.

The ſecurity with which the populace committed crimes, the rapidity with which thoſe followed one upon another, and the liſts of proſcription delivered by the *ſovereign people* of the *Palais-Royal* to the numerous executioners, were enough to alarm all honeſt men whoſe names were inſcribed on thoſe fatal liſts, and in which the proſcribers had not failed to inſert the Deputies who ſhowed the greateſt attachment to the King and to the Monarchy; and of thoſe none more merited that honourable character than the Abbé *Maury*. The uncommon talents, zeal, and courage with which he conſtantly defended the cauſe of Religion and the Throne, in that Aſſembly, have caſt ſo much glory on

on his name, and given ſo great an intereſt to his whole conduct, that the particulars of his arreſt at Peronne cannot be indifferent. They are related with equal accuracy and ſpirit in the following letter; where we ſhall alſo find a very exact picture of the ſtate in which the provinces neareſt to the Capital were at that time: a ſtate that ſoon became general throughout France.

* *Peronne, July* 28, 1789.

"The inhabitants of Picardy are good kind of people, but they are preciſe; and the ſooner to attain perfection they are forming themſelves in every reſpect upon the model of the Pariſians. They have aſſemblies, cockades, arms, and *good intentions*; they are playing, as at Paris, a game where every move is *check to the King*; they have burnt the cuſtom-houſes, thrown the officers into the river, intercepted the public revenue, ſet the malefactors at liberty, impriſoned the magiſtrates, and all this they ſay is nothing, unleſs they get the Archbiſhop of *Cambray* into their hands. Peronne ſtands

* This letter was written by *M. de Rivarol.*

nearly

nearly foremoſt in reſemblance to the Capital. We arrived here early this morning, and found the Abbé *Maury* (who on Sunday the 26th had entered the town in diſguiſe, and had been diſcovered from making known his intention to take a croſs-road) ſurrounded by ſome National militia of Peronne, at a guard-houſe behind the *Hotel-de-Ville*. We aſked how he had been taken, what ſort of excuſe the Abbé alleged, and what they meant to do with him in Picardy? A thouſand mouths opened upon us at once, and we ſhould not yet have underſtood a ſingle word of all that was prattled by ſo many Peronne citizens of both ſexes, if we had not called to order, and requeſted a Prebendary, with a cockade, oppoſite to us, to ſpeak alone, and in French, if it were not inconvenient. 'Gentlemen,' cried he, 'the 'man whom the *Country* has thought it 'right to arreſt here, and whom we are go-'ing to ſend back to the *Nation* at the *Ho-'tel-de-Ville* in Paris, has juſtly incurred 'this laying of the hands upon him. It 'was his intention to go abroad by ſtealth, 'he had no band or cockade, and ſpoke for 'a croſs road, which did not ſeem a right

'one

'one to our militia people, who upon that 'brought him to us. We found him out to 'be the Abbé *Maury*, from the deſcription 'that was ſome time ago ſent to us, and 'which was very exact. Upon this we ſaid 'to him: *You are the Abbé Maury, and 'we ſhall ſend you back to the Hotel-de-'Ville in Paris.*' To which the Abbé replied: 'Since neither diſguiſe nor fear has 'made any alteration in the countenance 'which Heaven has given me, I will not 'deny, although almoſt every other man 'would in my place, that I am the Abbé 'Maury. To have acknowledged it be-'fore would have been candid, and now it 'is bold. Here I am your priſoner; and if 'you ſend me to Paris, ſurrounded by pa-'triotic bayonets, I do not doubt but that 'the mob will treat me nearly as they did '*M. Foulon* and *M. Berthier;* but I am 'not very ambitious of ſwelling the mar-'tyrology of the Ariſtocrats, and I beg you, 'Gentlemen, to diſpatch a meſſenger, at my 'expence, to the National Aſſembly. I be-'lieve that ſome among them will uſe their 'earneſt endeavours to prevent my being 'made an example. Picardy heads will very 'eaſily comprehend this; but now that I

'am

'am in your hands, Gentlemen, preſent me, 'I pray you, to the Commander of the mili-'tia, the Mayor of the town, and, in ſhort, to 'all the Gentlmen of your Permanent Com-'mittee.'—Nothing more juſt; and accordingly we immediately carried him and eſtabliſhed him in our *Hotel-de-Ville*, where, waiting the anſwer from the National Aſſembly, he lives among our Gentlemen, and makes himſelf all things to all men.

" Charmed with ſo many details, we deſired the good Prebendary to add to our obligations, by procuring us the means of ſeeing the Abbé for a moment among the Permanent Committee of Peronne: this he readily did.

" Judge whether the Abbé *Maury* was pleaſed to ſee us or not. Though he expected agreeable news from the National Aſſembly, he was not without ſome uneaſineſs. The firſt thing he did was to preſent us to the Gentlemen about him, the Commander of the militia, *the Prevôt des Marchands*, and all the Electors.

" The *La Fayette* of the Picards is an old ſerjeant, lame, and blind of one eye, who had diſtinguiſhed himſelf in ſeveral popular commotions, in one of which he

he had loſt his eye. He very complaiſantly related to us all the pains he had taken to embody one hundred and twenty Picards, and procure them cockades and muſkets.—With this guard he hoped to have had the honour of eſcorting the Abbé *Maury* to Paris.

" The *Prevôt des Marchands* of the town of Peronne is not, like *M. Bailly*, a member of the three academies; but, like him, he had been appointed by *acclamation*, and was at the time ſchool-maſter and a worthy church-warden.

" Addreſſing theſe Gentlemen and all the Electors, we aſked why the Nation did not maſſacre its priſoners at Peronne, as well as at Paris, and why their town deprived themſelves of the ſight of thoſe executions, which firſt afforded ſo much pleaſure, and then ſo much honour to the Pariſians; ' for, ' without injuring any body,' we added, the ' Abbé *Maury* was ſurely worthy of your ' patriotic rage. Why ſend him back to ' Paris? Are you waiting like the people at ' *Beaune* for a better opportunity?'—' Gentlemen! Gentlemen!' gravely replied the ' Mayor of the town, ' Paris has the right of ' executing throughout the Kingdom; but

' we

'we never put any to death but Picards; for 'we are not preciſely the Nation, as the Pa-'riſians are. The Abbé *Maury* is a deſer-'ter from the States-General; this is a deli-'cate point: we are waiting for orders from 'the National Aſſembly, which will ſet us 'to rights. We have but too much buſineſs 'already. This very night, upon intelli-'gence received from Paris, Hainault, 'Flanders, and all Picardy have been under 'arms, the alarm-bell has been ringing 'every where in town and country; three 'hundred thouſand bourgeois patrols have 'been on foot, and all this to receive two 'thouſand brigands embodied, who were to 'ſcatter themſelves over our fields and burn 'our harveſts.'—'We clearly perceived, 'Gentlemen, a conſiderable commotion as 'we croſſed your province; but being un-'informed of the reaſon for your fears, we 'ſuppoſed this turbulent ſtate to be the na-'tural ſtate of Picardy. Bourgeois patrols, 'armed with forks, clubs bound with iron, 'ſcythes, and here and there a muſket, ſtop-'ped us at every ſtep, making us ſwear to 'love the Country, and above all the village 'through which we were paſſing. From 'poſt to poſt a militia-man was appointed

'to

' to accompany us, and the laſt who did us ' that honour mounted the box of our car- ' riage, carrying his piſtols behind him, ' ſlung acroſs in ſuch a manner that their ' muzzles pointed directly upon us. In this ' ſituation we arrived at Roye, where we ' were aſked if Mr. *Necker* were returned. ' We replied, he would return ſoon.'—' *It is* ' *always ſoon,*' cried one of the chief per- ſons. ' *I am reſolved to take up the firſt* ' *who does not tell me that Mr. Necker* ' *is arrived, and ſend him tied hand* ' *and foot to the Hotel-de-Ville of the* ' *Nation at Paris.*'

' Having received ſuch a leſſon, we have ' not failed ſaying all along the road that ' Mr. *Necker* was arrived, and we will ſay ' the ſame to you, Gentlemen, if you re- ' quire it; only allow us to ſpeak reſpect- ' ing the Abbé *Maury*, and to aſk you, on ' the ſubject of the violent and falſe alarm ' you have received, what can be the end of ' thoſe who terrify you with groundleſs ru- ' mours, and thus make you paſs days and ' nights under arms. Whence could thoſe ' two thouſand men who were to burn your ' harveſts come? Is not there a communi- ' cation

'cation kept up between the King and the 'whole Nation? Do not the ſoldiers every 'where do duty jointly with the bourgeois?' 'What you ſay there, Sir,' ſaid the Mayor, cocking his eye at us, 'is very ſuſpicious; 'it is fortunate for you that we know what 'we are about. It is our pleaſure to believe 'that we are in danger; he who removes 'our fears is our enemy; and it is only by 'giving alarms that an army of three mil-'lions of bourgeois and countrymen, from 'one end of the Kingdom to the other, can 'be kept on foot*, and that army is at 'this moment in exiſtence.'

"The Abbé *Maury* winked to us, and we were changing the converſation when a great noiſe was heard in the ſtreet, which proved to be the meſſenger juſt arrived from the National Aſſembly, who demanded, not the Abbé *Maury's* perſon, but his liberty, declaring him ſacred and inviolable; which mortified the town of Peronne to a degree that it would be difficult to expreſs. They had incurred expence, equipped themſelves to eſcort him to Paris, and flattered

* This is the whole ſecret of the National Aſſembly.

them-

themſelves with giving a grand proof of zeal to the *Hotel-de-Ville*, with perhaps effacing the remembrance of the ſuffering of *Foulon* and *Berthier*, by burning the Abbé *Maury:* theſe ſweet hopes muſt all be renounced, and their prey releaſed.

" We were eyed ſuſpiciouſly when we congratulated the Abbé on his deliverance; and it was lucky that he did not take it into his head to call us his friends and embrace us, for we ſhould have been ſtoned. I do not know that he was aware of this new means of getting rid of his enemies; but he withdrew from the hands of his jailors, very well pleaſed to leave them, and at the ſame time much altered in the three days he had paſſed under them.

" We do not know whether he has yielded to his gratitude to the National Aſſembly, or to reſentment againſt the little people, and all democrats; that is to ſay, whether he will return to Verſailles or go into the Low Countries: he went away without opening his mind to us. Before he went they made him ſwear that he would always love Peronne. He ſwore without heſitation, perfectly ſure that he ſhould find ſome caſuiſt among the biſhops who would free him from the ſacredneſs of his oath.

" P. S. You will be very careful not to publiſh this letter unleſs you have any intention to have ſome honeſt bookſeller of the *Palais-Royal* ſent to the gallows. When we had only one maſter we might eſcape, though we did write, but now there is no uſing one's pen unleſs it is againſt him; for, ſince the People of Paris are become King, the mob is Queen, and one may be guilty of High Treaſon againſt all the ſuburbs and ſtreets of the town to the *Place de Grève*. It is to be hoped, with *the Paris Journal*, that the Ladies of the Market will make the Kings and Queens of their quarter liſten to reaſon. May they inſtil into all thoſe Princes that clemency is a royal virtue, which is marvelloufly expedient at the commencement of a reign! When you have made ſure of all thoſe powers I will return and join you. In vain have the Miniſters of the *Hotel-de-Ville* now publiſhed a general amneſty in the name of the People-King, I do not chooſe to truſt to the Secretaries of a King that cannot read. I will never make uſe of a paſſport ſigned *Pitra* *: that

* *Pitra*, Member of the Municipality of Paris, a paltry ſcribbler.

name

name which has been the death of ſo many wretched books can never inſure the life of any man."

The Abbé *Maury's* conduct after his return to the Aſſembly, and the conſtant and ever fortunate intrepidity which he diſplayed at the moſt perilous moments, have fully proved, that though there are dangers which cannot be avoided but by flying from them, and which only a raſhneſs more allied to madneſs than courage would brave, yet there are many more which flight renders more terrible, and which are to be eſcaped by being faced. True courage ſeldom miſtakes them:—cowardice always does.

All I have been ſaying of the Abbé *Maury* is equally applicable to *M. de Cazalès*, who in a diſtinguiſhed manner played the ſame part in the Order of the Nobility that the former did in the Order of the Clergy. He alſo quitted the Aſſembly about the ſame period, from the ſame motives, and was arreſted at Cauſſade near Montauban, almoſt at the ſame time that the Abbé was arreſted at Peronne; both one and the other were men of great cou-

rage. Prudence dictated to them what, in the ſame caſe, cowardice would have dictated to the Abbé *Sieyes;* his departure would have been a ſhameful flight, theirs was a prudent retreat.

CHAP-

CHAPTER XIII.

Letters from the Engliſh Ambaſſador—Mr. Necker's Return—His Speeches to the Aſſembly and the Municipality—Report of the Committee of Conſtitution, Rights of Man, &c.—The King gives Notice to the Aſſembly of the Appointment of the new Miniſters—Reſolutions of the 4th of Auguſt—Te Deum—The King entitled the Reſtorer of Liberty—A Medal decreed—Artifice ſucceſsfully employed to prevail upon the Deputies of the Clergy to conſent to the Abolition of Tithes—The King's Meſſage reſpecting the Commotions and general Diſorder—Speeches of the Miniſters—Mr. Necker propoſes a Loan of thirty Millions, bearing Five per Cent. Intereſt—The Aſſembly

agree, but reduce the Intereſt to Four-and-a-half—Municipalities charged with the re-eſtabliſhment of public tranquillity—Treacherous and ſlanderous Proclamation—Addreſs preſented to the King by the Aſſembly on his Majeſty's Feſtival—Debate upon the VETO.

THE People are an unmanageable inſtrument, and their impetuoſity is never proportionate to the purpoſe of thoſe by whom they are uſed; but whatever be their deviations, they are always infinitely leſs to blame than the men who put them into motion without having a ſufficient power at command to direct them.

The factious, whoſe deteſtable manœuvres had excited a general inſurrection throughout France, being themſelves frightened at the many enormous crimes the people committed, dreaded leſt a general cry of indignation ſhould mark them out, and flattered themſelves to avert from their own heads the reſponſibility with which they were threatened, by cauſing it to be reported by their Journaliſts that the diſorder and commotions which agitated the kingdom were fomented by the agents of the Engliſh Government.

This

This atrocious calumny ſoon gained ſo much credit, that the Engliſh Ambaſſador thought proper to refute it officially, and in conſequence ſent the following letter to *M. de Montmorin*, requeſting him to communicate it to the Aſſembly :

" Paris, July 26, 1789.—Sir, it has reached my ears from ſeveral quarters, that attempts are made to inſinuate that my Court has in ſome degree fomented the commotions that for ſome time paſt have agitated this Capital; that it is taking advantage of this criſis to arm againſt France, and even that a fleet is upon the coaſts for the purpoſe of co-operating with a party of malcontents. Though theſe reports are altogether deſtitute of foundation, they appear to me to have made an impreſſion upon the National Aſſembly ; and the National Courier, which publiſhes the proceedings of the Sittings of the 23d and 24th of this month, throws out ſuſpicions which pain me the more as you, Sir, know how far my Court is from deſerving them.

" Your Excellency will remember ſeveral converſations which I had with you in the beginning of June laſt: the ſhocking plot which had been propoſed relative to the port of Breſt, the eagerneſs I felt to put the

King and his Miniſters upon their guard, the anſwer of my Court, which ſo fully correſponded with my own ſentiments, and which rejected with horror the propoſal made to it; laſtly, the aſſurances of attachment which it repeated to the King and the Nation. You then informed me how much ſatisfaction his Majeſty felt upon that occaſion.

" As my Court has it infinitely at heart to preſerve the good harmony ſubſiſting between the two Nations, and to remove all ſuſpicion to the contrary, I requeſt you, Sir, to make this letter known without delay to the Preſident of the National Aſſembly. You are ſenſible how very important it is to me that juſtice be done to my conduct and to that of my Court, and to deſtroy the effect of the inſidious inſinuations which have been ſpread.

" It is of infinite conſequence that the National Aſſembly ſhould know my ſentiments, that they ſhould do juſtice to thoſe of my Country, and to the frank conduct it has ever maintained towards France ſince I have had the honour of being its organ.

" I have it the more at heart that you ſhould not loſe a ſingle moment in taking

theſe

these steps, as I owe it to my own character, to my country, and to the English who are here, to take care that no farther reflections of this kind be cast upon them*. I have the honour to be, &c.—Signed, DORSET."

In the letter which *M. de Montmorin* sent with the Duke of *Dorset*'s, he declared, "That the English Ambassador had in a personal conversation informed him, in the beginning of June, of a plot against Brest; that those who were concerned in it had requested succours for the expedition, and an asylum in England; that the Ambassador not having been able to give him any intelligence by which the authors of the project

* The Duke of *Dorset*, having sent an account of the step he had taken to his Court, was specially authorised "to renew to *M. de Montmorin*, in the most positive terms, the assurances of the ardent desire of his Britannic Majesty and his Ministers to cultivate and support the friendship and harmony which were happily subsisting between the two Nations."

Such were the contents of the second letter which the Duke of *Dorset* wrote on the 3d of August to *M. de Montmorin*, and which he requested him to communicate to the Assembly. The year following the same assurances were repeated on the part of his Britannic Majesty, in a letter from Mr. *Pitt* to *M. de Calonne*, who was then in England, and who sent the letter to the King. (Appendix, No. viii.)

could

could be traced, who he proteſted were abſolutely unknown to him, every inquiry that could be made on grounds ſo uncertain had proved fruitleſs; but that the Miniſter of the Navy (*M. de la Luzerne*) had given orders to the Commander at Breſt to uſe every precaution poſſible, and the ſtricteſt vigilance."

Theſe letters were greatly applauded, and the Preſident was charged to write to *M. de Montmorin*, and expreſs the ſatisfaction of the Aſſembly *.

At the ſame Sitting, the Committee appointed to draw up a plan of Conſtitution preſented the firſt part of their work, conſiſting of two chapters, to the Aſſembly: the firſt was the Declaration of the Rights of Man and of a Citizen; the other eſtabliſhed

* It is not the only time that the offer of delivering up Breſt has been made to England ſince the Revolution. I have myſelf had perſonal proof, as I have related in my Private Memoirs, (Vol. II. page 130.) that it was repeated in 1794; not by *Royaliſts*, *Vendeans*, or *Chouans*, but by a villain whom the Republic and the patriotiſm of the times reckoned among their ſtaunchеſt chiefs. The Britiſh Government has always generouſly repelled thoſe infamous propoſals: it belongs but to a *Robeſpierre*, and his worthy followers, to ſecure ſucceſs by crimes.

the

the principles of the French Government. They were both highly applauded; and the Assembly ordered them to be printed, and submitted to the examination of the different committees into which their Members were divided.

Mr. *Necker* arrived at Versailles on the 28th of July, and going next day to the Assembly, desired to be introduced, in order to offer *the homage of his respect and gratitude* to the Representatives of the Nation. He entered amidst the loudest applauses and acclamations, and spoke, or rather stammered out with extreme emotion, the two following sentences:

"Mr. President, I come eagerly to ex-
"press to this august Assembly my re-
"spectful gratitude for the marks of inte-
"rest and of goodness they have been
"pleased to show me. They have thus
"laid weighty duties upon me; and it is
"by being impressed by their sentiments, and
"profiting by their knowledge, that amid
"circumstances so difficult I can hope to
"preserve any degree of courage."

The

The Preſident, who doubtleſs had no expectation of ſo laconic an harangue, had prepared a much longer anſwer, and one ſo full of flattery, that Mr. *Necker* himſelf muſt have been cloyed with it. It was however exceedingly applauded, and ordered to be printed *.

It was for the Commune of Paris, whither he repaired the day following, that Mr. *Necker* had reſerved thoſe pompous expreſſions which required ſuch labour to bring forth, that when he had finiſhed the production of this famous ſpeech †, he had no time left to prepare another like it for the National Aſſembly.

Long and many harangues upon the Declaration of the Rights of Man, upon the weighty queſtion whether it ſhould be placed at the beginning or at the end of the Conſtitution, and upon the formation of a Committee of *Report* or of *Inquiry*, occupied the Aſſembly for ſeveral Sittings. The neceſſity of conſtantly attending to the pre-

* Speech of the Preſident of the Aſſembly in reply to Mr. *Necker*. See Appendix, No. iv.

† Mr. *Necker*'s Speech at the *Hotel-de-Ville* in Paris. See Appendix, No. v.

tended

tended plots and dangers without number with which the Nation was threatened, ſerved as a pretext for this inſtitution, which was ſoon rendered formidable by the moſt odious inquiſition and moſt arbitrary vexations.

The Aſſembly themſelves, alarmed at the multitude and loquacity of their ſpeakers, began to be afraid that the Conſtitution would never be ſettled, from the length of the debates that took place upon every article; and this apprehenſion made them at firſt give great applauſe to a motion for ſtopping * every perſon who had ſpoken five minutes: for this purpoſe it was moved, that the Preſident ſhould keep a five-minute-glaſs on his deſk. This motion, which was made by a Deputy of the name of *Bouche*, a circumſtance one would have ſuppoſed enough in itſelf to have turned it into ridicule, was very ſeriouſly oppoſed by *Target* and others. It was curious enough to ſee this Aſſembly, with the pretenſion of being the moſt auguſt in the world, ſpend-

* *Fermez la bouche à tout opinant*—to ſhut the ſpeaker's mouth: the Mover's name happened to be equivocal with the mouth.

ing

ing hours on the queſtion, whether their members ſhould or ſhould not have the liberty of ſpeaking more than five minutes. At length, after much debating, the cauſe of eloquence or of loquacity gained a complete triumph. It was reſolved, that a double liſt of thoſe members who wiſhed to ſpeak for or againſt a motion ſhould be made, and that *each ſhould ſpeak in his turn.* A reſolution no doubt very reaſonable, but not eaſily to be adhered to in that Aſſembly.

One of the firſt objects to which Mr. *Necker* had to attend, was the filling up of the vacant places in the Adminiſtration. It was prudent to appoint only ſuch perſons as were agreeable to the Aſſembly, and the ſureſt means of doing that, was to chooſe them among the moſt popular of its own members. To this character the Archbiſhop of *Bourdeaux* added that of being Mr. *Necker*'s particular friend, and the merit of having offered himſelf eagerly to the Aſſembly to run after that Miniſter with the King's letter, which was to recall him, and the Preſident's, which invited him to yield to the wiſhes of the Nation and its Repreſentatives. That commiſſion the Aſſembly thought would be more properly executed

by the clerk *Du Freſne St. Leon*; but the Archbiſhop's extraordinary officiouſneſs did not the leſs deſerve to be rewarded, and the place of Keeper of the Seals, vacant by the reſignation of *M. Barentin*, and to which the ſurvivorſhip of the office of Chancellor* was attached, was beſtowed upon him.

Mr.

* The place of Keeper of the Seals, which when ſeparate from that of the Chancellor was always held in commiſſion, had been a ſecond time created a diſtinct office in 1774 in favour of *M. de Miromenil*, at the period of the re-eſtabliſhment of the Parliament of Paris, who, on account of that circumſtance, conſented to regiſter the Edict which revived it, and which attached to it the ſurvivorſhip of that of Chancellor, conformably to the Edict of 1551, by which this office of Keeper of the Seals had been originally created a diſtinct one, in favour of Cardinal *John Bertrand*, one of my great-uncles. At the death of *Henry II.* his ſucceſſor *Francis II.* took the Seals from Cardinal *Bertrand*, to reſtore them to the Chancellor *Olivier*, who had continued in diſgrace during the preceding reign; but Cardinal *Bertrand* returned the Seals to the King, without giving in the reſignation of his office, and was ſent Ambaſſador to Venice. When the Chancellor *Olivier* died, *Michael de l'Hopital* was appointed in his place, upon the reſignation which Cardinal *Bertrand* then conſented to make: from his great age and infirmities he could not undertake the journey from Venice to Paris. Still he might have refuſed his reſignation, and in that caſe the King could only have given *Michael de l'Hopital* a ſimple

Mr. *Necker* ſeized this occaſion to introduce the cuſtom of ſubmitting the appointment of the Miniſters to the Aſſembly for

ſimple commiſſion as Keeper of the Seals, revokable at pleaſure. *(Hiſt. des Chanceliers de France, by Ducheſne.)* It might have been the ſame with the ſucceſſors of *M. de Miromenil*, if at the time of his diſgrace he had confined himſelf, like Cardinal *Bertrand*, to returning the Seals without giving in his reſignation; but he contented himſelf with obſerving to *M. de Montmorin*, who demanded it of him, that he had a right to refuſe it, and that he complied only to give the King a new proof of his reſpect and obedience. *M. de Lamoignon*, who ſucceeded him, having alſo given in his reſignation, *M. de Barentin* was advanced to the office. He, at the period of his retreat, might ſtill more eaſily than *M. de Miromenil* have merely delivered the Seals without giving in his reſignation, as the King did not aſk it of him. He was no doubt apprehenſive that by not reſigning he might increaſe the embarraſſment of the critical ſituation to which his Majeſty was reduced, and his conduct on the occaſion is therefore praiſeworthy; but the conſequence was, that the Archbiſhop of *Bourdeaux* became regularly inveſted with the office of Keeper of the Seals and the ſurvivorſhip attached to it. There is no doubt but that he would have been Chancellor if that office had become vacant during his adminiſtration, and if the Aſſembly had not ſuppreſſed that great office of the crown, and ſubſtituted in its place the Keeper of the Seals of France. Allowing the ſuppreſſion to be valid, the Chancellor *Maupeou*, who died in the month of Auguſt 1792, ſurvived the office about two years.

their

their ſanction, or at leaſt their approbation; in order that thoſe who were honoured with their eſteem and favour ſhould in future be ſafe from all Court intrigues. He might by theſe means have ſecured a perpetuity in his office, were not popular confidence ſtill more verſatile than the favour of Kings. Be that as it may, Mr. *Necker* perſuaded the King to write the following letter to the Aſſembly, to inform them of the appointment of the new Miniſters:

"Gentlemen, I think it correſpondent to the ſentiments of confidence which ſhould reign between us, to acquaint you myſelf with the manner I have filled the vacant places of my Miniſtry.

"I have given the Seals to the Archbiſhop of *Bourdeaux*, and the Liſt of Benefices to the Archbiſhop of *Vienne**. I have appointed *M. de la Tour-du-Pin-Paulin*

* The Keeper of the Liſt of Benefices poſſeſſed an immenſe patronage in the Church, his office being to attend to the vacancies of every kind, and to recommend proper perſons to the King to ſupply them. The Archbiſhops or Biſhops heretofore appointed to this place were in that quality neither Secretaries of State nor Miniſters, and conſequently not in the King's Council. The union of theſe was granted to the popularity of the Archbiſhop of *Vienne*. The Revolution gained more by it than Religion did.

Miniſter of the War Department; and Marſhal *Beauvau** one of my Council.

" The nomination of my Miniſters from the Aſſembly itſelf, evinces my deſire of maintaining the moſt conſtant and moſt amicable harmony with it."

This letter produced the warmeſt applauſe; the Aſſembly cauſed it to be read a ſecond time, and unanimouſly voted an addreſs of thanks to the King, in gratitude for ſo affecting a mark of his confidence.

The Evening Sitting of the ſame day offered a ſcene as remarkable for its extravagance, as important in its conſequences. This nocturnal Sitting is too famous in the hiſtory of the Revolution to be paſſed over without giving ſome particulars of it.

In the Sitting of the preceding day, the Committee of Report had ſtated to the Aſſembly, that letters and memorials received from all the Provinces proved that " property of every nature was every where the prey of the moſt atrocious plunderers, and that throughout the country the houſes were burnt, the convents deſtroyed, and the farms given up to pillage. Impoſts, ſeigneurial

† An old friend and conſtant admirer of Mr. *Necker's*.

ſervices,

ſervices, all," added the Reporter of the Committee, (*Salomon*, an advocate of Orleans) "all is annihilated; the Laws are without force, the Magiſtrates without authority; and Juſtice is no longer but a phantom, which it is vain to ſeek in the Courts."

As a remedy to all theſe diſorders, the Committee of Report propoſed the plan of a Declaration which was not ſatisfactory to the Aſſembly; but after much debating they adopted the chief points of it, and ordered a new one of the ſame tenor to be drawn up, and preſented to them the next day, Auguſt 4, at the Evening Sitting.

The Aſſembly did not meet till eight o'clock, and began with hearing the new plan of a Declaration read. It referred to the ancient laws, "as ſtill ſubſiſting and to be adhered to, until the authority of the Nation ſhould have abrogated or modified them: it declared that the impoſts, as they were, ſhould continue to be received, according to the Reſolution of the 17th of June laſt, until the Aſſembly ſhould have eſtabliſhed contributions and forms leſs burdenſome to the People: that all uſual rents and ſervices ſhould be diſcharged as before, until it ſhould be otherwiſe ordered: and laſtly, that the laws

made for the ſecurity of perſons and property ſhould be univerſally reſpected. By the concluding article it was ordered, that the Declaration ſhould be ſent into all the Provinces, and that the pariſh prieſts ſhould be deſired to make it known to their pariſhioners, and recommend the obſervance of it to them."

To appreciate diſpoſitions ſo wiſe, it would have been neceſſary that reaſon and cool ſenſe ſhould have prevailed at this Sitting; but theſe were not ſuited to the crowd of young modiſh Legiſlators, whoſe petulant patriotiſm had been heightened by the fumes of wine and a hearty dinner. The Declaration appeared to them inſufficient, and they roſe almoſt all at once to oppoſe it. In their opinion, the only means of re-eſtabliſhing tranquillity was to begin by ſatisfying the People: they ſpoke of them as of a juſtly-exaſperated Divinity, who was to be appeaſed only by ſacrifices. "This good "People," ſaid the Viſcount *de Noailles* with emotion; "theſe Communities have "ſet forth their demands: it is not a Con- "ſtitution they deſire; that wiſh has been "expreſſed only in the Bailiwicks. What "then do they aſk? An equal diviſion of "the

" the taxes, the ſuppreſſion of aids, the " abolition of certain feudal rights, the re- " demption or exchange of others. For " near three months paſt they have ſeen " their Repreſentatives occupied in what we " call, and what in fact is, public buſineſs; " but public buſineſs appears to them to re- " late more immediately to ſuch things as they " are in need of, and which they ardently wiſh " to obtain." He concluded with moving, " That all theſe articles be decreed before " the plan of a Declaration preſented by the " Committee be adopted."

The Duke *d'Aiguillon* ſeconded this motion with ſuch pathetic and efficacious eloquence, that the Aſſembly, in tears, gave themſelves up entirely to the delirium of ſacrifices. At the ſame inſtant Deputies of every one of the Orders were ſeen ruſhing in crowds towards the table, to be the firſt to make their offerings. " How will it affect " the feelings of every Citizen," ſaid a Member of the Order of the Nobility, " to " hear that the Members of the Communes " having yeſterday ſolicited the attention of " the National Aſſembly to prevent the " outrages committed againſt the perſons " and property of the Nobility, the Nobi-

" lity, by a generous return, had this day " given every claſs of the French Nation ſo " ſignal a proof of their patriotiſm and " love!"

The feudal rights were diſtinguiſhed into real and perſonal. The latter, and thoſe which had formerly been perſonal, but had been redeemed for a rent in corn or money, were aboliſhed without any compenſation. All the real rights were declared redeemable, and alſo the rights of Mortmain, Courts-Baron, and Impropriations:—all Seigneurial Juriſdictions, excluſive Right of Game, Warrens, &c. &c. were ſuppreſſed. A Member of the Nobility then roſe, and ſaid with emotion, " Catullus had but one bird, " and he could do no more than offer his " bird: ſo is it with me, I have nothing " elſe, and I give it up; as pigeons are " hurtful to agriculture, they ought to be " deſtroyed."

The Motion, drawn up like a madrigal, paſſed unanimouſly. It was followed by a Decree, without the ſlighteſt oppoſition, for the equal ſupport of taxes according to the abilities of thoſe who paid them, the gratuitous adminiſtration of juſtice, the abolition of the ſale of places, and of all pecuniary privileges

vileges and exemptions, the reform of franchiſes and peculiar juriſdictions, and for the free admiſſion of every Citizen to eccleſiaſtic, civil and military employments, without any diſtinction of birth. The particular privileges of Provinces and Towns were alſo given up by their reſpective Deputies, and thoſe who were reſtrained by the ſtrictneſs of their inſtructions ſaid that they would write to their Conſtituents to ſolicit their conſent. Provence was the only Province for which any claim was made. Its privileges had at firſt been relinquiſhed by *M. d'André*, one of its Deputies; but they were immediately claimed (in the name of the Members deputed from that Province) and defended by the Archbiſhop of *Aix*. He maintained that thoſe privileges were eſſential rights, grounded on compacts and agreements, the abolition of which could be of no importance to the reſt of France, as their exiſtence could in no manner be injurious to the other provinces. "The queſtion," ſaid he, "is not relative to taxation, but to certain forms ſuited to the diſpoſitions, cuſtoms, and manners of the inhabitants, and which only tend to ſupport more effectually the ſafety of perſons and of pro-

perty; they are natural rights better preſerved, which it would be juſt to make common to the whole kingdom. We have no authority to renounce them for Provence, and no renunciation could be valid without its ſpecial conſent." Theſe remonſtrances were certainly juſt; but what influence could juſtice and reaſon have amidſt theſe patriotic orgies, in which the moſt lawful rights, confounded with the greateſt abuſes, were all indiſcriminately ſacrificed on *the altar of the Country*, or rather hurled into the gulph of the Revolution?

The ſacrifices made by the Order of the Clergy were not inferior to thoſe of the Nobility. Pluralities were forbidden; firſt-fruits, and the right to the profits during vacancies, were ſuppreſſed: Pariſh Prieſts gave up their fees, and it was inſtantly decreed, that they ſhould be indemnified by an increaſe of ſalary for a competent proviſion, and in the manner of the income of Prieſts in Towns. It was laſtly decreed, that eccleſiaſtical tithes ſhould be ſuppreſſed, and a modus eſtabliſhed in lieu of them. It was alſo reſolved, that all the penſions which had been granted by the Crown ſhould be ſubmitted to the examination of the Aſſembly, that

that they might ſuppreſs thoſe that had been obtained without a ſufficient claim, and reduce thoſe which they ſhould find rated too high.

As ſoon as theſe articles were all decreed, the Archbiſhop of *Paris* moved, that the Aſſembly ſhould order a *Te Deum* to be ſung in the King's Chapel in preſence of his Majeſty and the Members of the National Aſſembly. If there be little merit in returning thanks to the Supreme Being for the good he does us, it requires a great ſtock of piety to thank him alſo for the evil he inflicts upon us; and in this point of view the Archbiſhop's motion could not but be very edifying, and it was adopted unanimouſly.

So alſo was a motion of a different nature, made by *M. de Lally*, the ſubſtance of which is as follows, and will give a juſt idea of the enthuſiaſm and intoxication with which the Aſſembly was overcome.

" Gentlemen, amid theſe raptures, amid " theſe ecſtaſies which blend all our ſenti- " ments, all our wiſhes, all our ſouls, ought " we not to remember the King? the King " who has convened us, although the Na- " tional Aſſemblies have been interrupted " for nearly two centuries; the King who " was

" was the firſt to invite us to the happy " union we have juſt completed; the King, " who of his own accord has relinquiſhed " all the rights which his juſtice ſuggeſted " ought not to be retained; the King, in " ſhort, who has thrown himſelf into our " arms, and who again this morning offer- " ed us, and requeſted from us, a conſtant " and friendly confidence! On this glorious " day let every one reap his reward, let " every one enjoy his happineſs; may the " public happineſs be the chief reſult of " it! May the union of the King and Peo- " ple crown the union of all the Orders, " of all the Provinces, and of all the Ci- " tizens!

" It was in the midſt of the States-Ge- " neral that *Louis XII.* was proclaimed " *Father of the People;* I move that in the " midſt of this National Aſſembly, the moſt " auguſt and important ever convened, " *Louis XVI.* be proclaimed *Reſtorer of* " *French Liberty.*"

This Proclamation was immediately made with the higheſt raptures by the Aſſembly and all the ſpectators. The Hall reſounded, for more than a quarter of an hour, with the

the cries of "*Vive le Roi!*" "*Vive Louis XVI,* reſtorer of French Liberty!"

It was then reſolved, that a medal ſhould be ſtruck, to perpetuate the memory of ſo glorious a day, or rather of ſo glorious a night; for it was two in the morning before the Aſſembly broke up this famous Sitting, in which all the rights and all the property of the Kingdom were confounded, and inſtitutions as ancient as the Monarchy, rendered ſacred by ages of reſpect, were in a moment annihilated.

I was not preſent at this Sitting, but one of my friends who attended, related to me the next morning what had paſſed. As he ſpoke in a tone too ſerious for me to ſuppoſe he was in jeſt, I began to think he had loſt his ſenſes; but I ſoon found in the public papers a confirmation of the particulars he had mentioned. I could not help thinking that I was reading an account of one of thoſe frolics ſometimes entered into by wild young fellows, who, after puſhing the bottle freely, begin to break their glaſſes, decanters, and plates, then to contend who ſhall throw the moſt valuable furniture out of the window, and before they have done leave the room bare; but who next day, at

ſight

ſight of their bill, curſe their folly while they pay for the things deſtroyed. Unfortunately the patriotic frolic of the 4th of Auguſt did not end ſo; it ruined millions of individuals who had no ſhare in it, and enriched nobody. The reducing all the articles then decreed into a formal Act gave room for long debates in the following Sittings. Our ſobered legiſlators thought they had only dreamt what they had too ſurely decreed, and ſeveral of them laboured to interpret and give a turn to the decrees ſo as to reduce the effect of them conſiderably; but the terms of them were too poſitive to be open to any reſtriction which the people would admit. The only article they found it poſſible to modify was that which condemned the pigeons to death or emigration. The excluſive appropriation of flights and dove-cotes was not totally ſuppreſſed; but it was ordained, that the pigeons ſhould be ſhut up at periods appointed by the Communes, during which time they ſhould be conſidered as all other kind of game, and liable to be killed as ſuch. But as this modification did not take place for eight-and-forty-hours after the original decree, moſt of the dove-cotes were deſtroyed or unſtocked before

fore it was known, otherwiſe it might, perhaps, have ſaved ſome of them *.

The Nobility and Clergy were treated much leſs favourably in the final arrangement of the Decrees of the 4th of Auguſt. The ſuppreſſion of all feudal rents, ſervices, and fealty, was not thought ſufficient; to this article was added the entire abolition of the feudal ſyſtem, that is—of all rights of paramount, precarious feuds, re-

* It ſhould be obſerved here, that ſcarcely any of the Decrees of the Evening Sitting of Auguſt 4th were regularly paſſed. Several motions which the acclamations, clapping, and vociferations of the galleries did not ſuffer to be heard, were among thoſe Decrees, although, amidſt the dreadful tumult that prevailed, it was as impoſſible for the Aſſembly to have paſſed them, as for the Secretaries to have written them. This was very ſtrenuouſly inſiſted upon the next day by ſeveral of the members of the *Coté Droit*, and particularly by *M. d'Epreſmenil*, who maintained that all thoſe pretended Decrees were previouſly drawn up, and that the Sitting had been purpoſely opened ſo late to convert it into a nocturnal and ſcandalous huddle, the more eaſily to alter the proceedings in ſuch a manner as to ſquare with the plan of the authors of this manœuvre. But the Preſident *(Chapelier)* and the Secretaries boldly aſſerted that all thoſe Decrees had been paſſed, and the majority of the Aſſembly, thinking themſelves bound by their atteſtation, confirmed this work of darkneſs and delirium.

liefs,

liefs, fealty, &c. The article which declared tithes abolifhed, became the fubject of a long and noify debate, in which the Abbé *Sieyes* attempted in vain to demonftrate that the Affembly, having once acknowledged tithes to be lawful property, and declared them redeemable, could not, without glaring inconfiftency, declare them not redeemable, that is to fay, to give indemnities on the fuppreffion of appropriate tithes, and not on that of common tithes, though one and the other were of the fame nature. "They would be free," he faid, "and cannot be juft." Thefe arguments, and thofe advanced by moft of the defenders of tithes, were unanfwerable; nor did they receive any other anfwer than clamours from the galleries, and threats uttered by the populace againft the chief members of the Clergy as they left the Affembly. In order to put an end to their debates, which had taken up two Sittings, recourfe was had to a trick which, palpable as it was, was completely fuccefsful. About a fcore of parifh prieffs, three-fourths of whom were not in the receipt of tithes, were made to fign a declaration, by which they entire-

ly relinquiſhed to the Nation their right to them. During the debate a favourable moment was dexterouſly ſeized to make uſe of this paper. The applauſe and enthuſiaſm, whether ſincere or diſſembled, which it excited, inſtantaneouſly electrified the majority of the Clergy. The Biſhops, Abbés Commendataries, and Prieſts, ſhowed equal eagerneſs to ſign this Declaration, left for that purpoſe on the table; and the Archbiſhop of *Paris* confirmed the buſineſs in the moſt ſolemn manner, by proclaiming, in the name of his colleagues, and of all his Clergy, the relinquiſhment of all eccleſiaſtical tithes to the Nation. "Let the Goſpel be publiſh-" ed," added he, "let divine worſhip be " celebrated with decency and dignity; let " the churches be provided with virtuous " and zealous paſtors, and above all, let " the poor be comforted. To ſuch pur-" poſes are our tithes appointed, ſuch is " the object of our wiſhes, the aim and " end of our Miniſtry. We truſt in the " National Aſſembly, and we do not doubt " that they will provide us with the means " of accompliſhing worthily, objects ſo im-" portant and ſo ſacred." It was in conſe-

quence

quence decreed, that tithes of every nature, and rents ſubſtituted for them, &c. ſhould be aboliſhed, ſubject, nevertheleſs, to the conſideration in what other manner proviſion ſhould be made for the maintaining of divine worſhip, for the ſupport of its Miniſters, for the comfort of the poor, for the repairing and re-building of churches, &c.

Thus was annulled this patriarchal tribute, the moſt ancient and venerable among men; thus was broken the link which united the hopes of the earth to the favours of Heaven, the intereſt of the prieſt to the proſperity of the peaſant, the hymns and prayers of every age to the flowers and fruits of every ſeaſon *.

The diſcuſſion reſpecting the drawing up of the Decrees of the 4th of Auguſt was interrupted in the Sitting of the 7th by the entrance of all the Miniſters, who were ſent by the King "to repoſe in the boſom of the Aſſembly the anxieties with which his Majeſty's paternal heart was agitated." It was thus that the Archbiſhop of *Bourdeaux* introduced the meſſage. He painted as truly

* *Journal de Rivarol.*

as

as energetically the deplorable ſtate to which France was reduced; the unbridled licentiouſneſs of the times, the laws without force, the forms of juſtice neglected, and force and arbitrary proſcriptions ſubſtituted; property invaded in all the provinces, incendiaries ravaging the habitations of the inhabitants, the aſylums of piety violated, induſtry and commerce ſuſpended, terror and deſolation ſpread throughout the Kingdom. "A wiſe and "excellent Conſtitution," added he, "is "and ought to be the ſureſt and moſt fer-"tile principle of the happineſs of this "Empire. His Majeſty waits the reſult of "your labours with the moſt ardent impa-"tience, and has expreſſly commiſſioned us "to urge you to accelerate them: but cir-"cumſtances require precautions and cares "of more immediate and active effect; they "require that you ſhould take the prompteſt "meaſures for ſuppreſſing the rage for "plunder, and the reliance on impunity; "that you ſhould reſtore to public authority "the influence it has loſt: the power which "you ſhall enforce will never be dangerous, "but armed diſorder will become ſo more "and more every day."

To this picture Mr. *Necker*, who ſpoke next, added that of an empty treaſury, occaſioned by the delay of the payment of the taxes, by the pillage of the offices, by the diſperſion of the regiſters, and by ſmuggling, which was carried on with open force in ſeveral provinces. He demonſtrated the neceſſity of immediately engaging a loan of thirty millions, to ſupply unavoidable expences, and the moſt preſſing wants, only for two months, which he ſtated to be ſufficient time for the Aſſembly " to have " finiſhed, or at leaſt to have conſiderably " advanced, the great labours in which they " were engaged, and from which would re- " ſult a permanent order ſuch as the Na- " tion had a right to expect from the en- " lightened zeal of their Repreſentatives, " and the juſt and beneficent intentions of " the King."

He did not deny that amid ſo much commotion the ſucceſs of this loan " was very " uncertain, notwithſtanding the generous " and patriotic ſentiments which ought to " ſupport it, and although the firſt loan ſe- " cured by the Repreſentatives of a Nation " the moſt attached to the laws of honour, " and

" and the richeſt in Europe, offered mo-
" neyed men an opportunity of laying out
" their capitals free from any real ap-
" prehenſion."

He propoſed 1ſt, to fix the intereſt of this loan ſimply at five per cent. 2dly, That it ſhould be payable at the period to be named by each lender, at the next ſeſſions of the States-General. 3dly, That the payment ſhould be made the firſt charge in the arrangements to be taken for the eſtabliſhment of a ſinking fund. 4thly, That a liſt of the ſubſcribers to this patriotic loan ſhould be delivered to the Aſſembly, and entered on their Journals.

So many lures brought forward to enſure ſucceſs for a miſerable loan of thirty millions, ſufficiently indicated the annihilation of public credit, and the opinion Mr. *Necker*, who was in a ſituation to form a better judgment than any other perſon, entertained of it. The credit of a Government never ſurvives its power, and the power of the French Government no longer exiſted. The Aſſembly intended to have made themſelves maſters of it, but they could only effect its diſſolution: their own conſiſted in the ability of deſtroying; and that kind of

power, however extenſive it be, is not at all in favour of credit—a truth that ſoon proved itſelf. The Aſſembly, perſuaded that any loan opened under their ſanction could not require any great advantages to be offered to the lenders, after a debate of two days * voted the loan demanded by Mr. *Necker;* but, far from adopting the terms propoſed by him, they rated the intereſt at four-and-a-half per cent, without fixing any time for the payment of the capital †. The conſequence was, that it was impoſſible to fill the ſubſcription for this loan, that they were obliged to have recourſe to means infinitely more burdenſome, and very ſoon to the moſt diſaſtrous of all—*Aſſignats*.

* In this debate the Clergy offered, by the Archbiſhop of *Aix*, to undertake this loan, and to mortgage all eccleſiaſtical property for the payment of the intereſt and alſo the principal. But this offer was too great an obſtacle to the views of the factious and jobbers to be accepted.

† In the Sitting of the 27th of Auguſt, the Aſſembly, finding that the ſubſcriptions to this loan amounted to no more than 2,600,000 livres, declared it cloſed, and, on Mr. *Necker's* propoſal, voted a new loan of eighty millions, half in money, and half in public bills, upon the conditions mentioned by the Miniſter of Finance. This loan ſucceeded no better than the former.

Nor

Nor was the Aſſembly more fortunate in the choice of their meaſures for ſuppreſſing the diſorder and robberies that deſolated France. Inſtead of re-eſtabliſhing public authority upon its ancient baſis, and reſtoring to it the influence it had loſt, they inveſted the Municipalities with all the powers heretofore exerciſed in the higher affairs of the police by the Commanders of the Provinces, by Commiſſioners of Appeal, and by the Parliaments; and to the ſole vigilance of the Municipal Officers, all excellent patriots in the ſenſe of the Revolution, they confided the care of reſtoring and maintaining public tranquillity. They authoriſed them to employ for that purpoſe the National militia, who obeyed their Commander only when he regulated his orders by their will; the Marechauſſee, who were cautious how they obeyed commands diſapproved by the National militia; and the troops of the line, who thinking themſelves degraded by being placed under Municipal Officers, did not reliſh acting in obedience to them. This was, nevertheleſs, the extent of the Proclamation which was voted according to the eloquent remonſtrance of the Archbiſhop of *Bourdeaux*. The preamble

amble of the Proclamation is not leſs remarkable for the malicious and falſe inſinuations it contains, than for the facts it ſtates. The beginning is literally as follows:

" The National Aſſembly, conſidering " that the enemies of the Nation, having " loſt the hope of preventing the public re- " generation and eſtabliſhment of Liberty " by the force of Deſpotiſm, appear to have " conceived the criminal project of attain- " ing the ſame end by the means of diſor- " der and anarchy; that they have, among " other expedients, at the ſame juncture, " and almoſt on the ſame day, cauſed falſe " alarms to be excited in the different pro- " vinces of the Kingdom; and that by " falſe reports of inroads and pillage they " have given riſe to real enormities and " crimes which attack both property and " perſons, and which, diſturbing the gene- " ral order of ſociety, deſerve the ſevereſt " puniſhment; that thoſe men had carried " their daring ſpirit to ſuch a length as to " ſpread forged orders and even forged " edicts of the King, which have ſet one " part of the Nation againſt the other, at " the very time that the National Aſſembly

" were

" were paſſing the moſt favourable Decrees " for the People——"

The charge of employing violent means to prevent the public regeneration, and the eſtabliſhment of Liberty, was not directed againſt the ruffians who were engaged in pillaging, ſetting houſes on fire, and murder, but levelled at the Clergy, Nobility, and Magiſtracy, in a word at the *Ariſtocrats*; for that title carried with it the conviction of every crime. It was likewiſe the Ariſtocrats whom this proclamation accuſed of fabricating forged orders and forged edicts of the King, for the purpoſe of cauſing their own property to be pillaged and burnt, and themſelves to be aſſaſſinated! and the Aſſembly were not ſhocked at this groſs impoſture, at this atrocious abuſe of the fatal magic of the word *Ariſtocrats*, and of the credulity of the people! This proclamation paſſed by a very great majority, and met with no difficulty except in regard to the oath to be adminiſtered to the troops, which was preſcribed by the decree that followed.

The debates upon the Declaration of the Rights of Man, upon the organization of the Judicial Power, and upon ſome articles

of the Plan of a Conſtitution, occupied all the Sittings till the 25th of Auguſt, on which day they were ſuſpended in honour of the King's feſtival. The Aſſembly appointed a Deputation of ſixty of their Members to carry their congratulations to his Majeſty on the occaſion, and to preſent him the following Addreſs:

" Sire, the Monarch whoſe revered name " your Majeſty bears, and whoſe virtues " Religion this day commemorates, was, " like you, the friend of his People. Like " you, Sire, he had French liberty at heart, " and guarded it by laws which are an " honour to our annals; but he could not be " the Reſtorer of it. This glory, which " has been reſerved for your Majeſty, gives " you an immortal right to our gratitude, " and to the tender veneration of all French- " men. Thus will the names of two kings, " ſeparated by the lapſe of ages but aſſimi- " lated by the moſt ſignal acts of juſtice in " favour of their People, be for ever united. " Sire, the National Aſſembly have ſuſ- " pended their labours a few moments to " perform a duty which is delightful to " them, though indeed it cannot be a de-

" parture

" parture from their truſt: to ſpeak to their " King of the love and fidelity of French- " men, is to be employed in a concern " truly National, and to gratify the firſt " wiſhes of their hearts.*"

While the Aſſembly were paying the King an homage ſo truly merited, the great political queſtions debated in their Sittings were made the ſubjects of diſcuſſion at the clubs, and among the groups of the *Palais-Royal.* Hired orators made random declamations which were ever replete with fury againſt the diviſion of the Legiſlative Body into two chambers, againſt the Royal Aſſent, and againſt the abſolute and ſuſpenſive VETO. Theſe men knew as little as their hearers what the difference was between the abſolute and ſuſpenſive *veto,* or indeed what *veto* meant at all; but they were perſuaded that one or the other was an enormous encroachment upon Liberty and the Sovereignty of the People; and that they might not be

* This Addreſs was drawn up by *Le Pelletier de St. Fargeau,* the ſame who afterwards became a Member of the Convention, ſat in judgment on the King, voted for his death, and was himſelf aſſaſſinated by a perſon named *Paris.*

miſtaken

miſtaken which of the two it was, the majority determined to abhor both *vetos* equally. This violent fermentation, concurring with the general diſcontent excited by the continuance and progreſs of the dearth, raiſed the moſt alarming agitation in the Capital.

NOTES.

NOTES.

N°. I.

Note relative to the Abbé Sieyes.

IT only depended on the poſſeſſion of an Abbey of 12,000 livres (five hundred pounds ſterling) a year, and a little more attention from the Archbiſhop of *Sens*, to have made the Abbé *Sieyes* one of the moſt zealous ſupporters of the old Government. I aſſert this fact on the teſtimony of ſeveral perſons worthy of the higheſt credit, without any fear of its being contradicted by the Abbé *Sieyes* himſelf; and I cite him from among a thouſand inſtances, that the world may juſtly appreciate the zeal, patriotiſm, and principles of thoſe revolutionary demoniacs, who all, madmen and idiots excepted, had no other object in declaiming and writing ſo violently againſt the Government and the Miniſters, than to make them purchaſe at a higher price their ſilence or their pen. The Abbé *Sieyes*, a man for ſyſtems, a ſubtle arguer, an obſcurely profound metaphyſician, puſhed himſelf into notice in 1787, in the Provincial Aſſembly of Orleans, of which he was a member, by his continual and frequently em-

embarraſſing oppoſition to the old principles, and to all the views of the Government. The Archbiſhop of *Sens*, then Miniſter, being informed of it, aſked *M. de L*——, one of the principal members of that department, who the Abbé *Sieyes* was, of whom he heard ſo much. "He is a man (replied *M. de L*——) extremely dangerous in times like theſe. You muſt abſolutely ſecure him, to prevent his doing a great deal of miſchief."—"But by what means ſecure him?"—"There is but one; and that is, to chain him down with fetters—not of iron, but of gold."—"What! do you think he is to be bought?"—"I have no doubt of it; he is not rich, he loves expenſive living, and good cheer, and of courſe money."—"How much muſt he have? Do you think an annuity of 6000 livres upon an Abbey would be enough?"—"No; his price is higher than that."—"Say twelve, then."—"That will do; but inſtead of giving him an annuity give him an Abbey of that value. He is of low extraction, and full of vanity; he would be highly flattered with an Abbey, and you will be ſure of being better ſerved for it."—"Let it be ſo then. Will you undertake the negotiation?"—"No, I cannot; but the Abbé *de Cezarges*, who is known to be entirely devoted to you, is in our Provincial Aſſembly, and nobody is fitter to execute the commiſſion."—"Well, then, I will put it into his hands."

The Archbiſhop of *Sens* in conſequence ſent

the Abbé *Cezarges* private inſtructions, together with a letter which he was to ſhow as occaſion required to the Abbé *Sieyes*, and in which the Miniſter ſpoke highly of the talents and great knowledge of the Abbé, ſaying, that he had mentioned him to the King, and that his Majeſty thought of calling him into the Adminiſtration, of preferring him to an Abbey of 12,000 livres income, &c.

With theſe credentials the Abbé *Cezarges* went and paid a friendly viſit to the Abbé *Sieyes*. "How is it, my dear Abbé," ſaid he to him, "that, with all the talents you poſſeſs, you have not the wit to turn them to account in improving your ſituation? The ſide of oppoſition in our Aſſemblies will only ſerve to create you powerful enemies, and to ſhut the door of favour againſt you; whereas, if inſtead of perpetually oppoſing and embarraſſing the Government you were to be of ſervice to it, you would certainly be well rewarded."—"Of ſervice to the Government! to the Miniſters! Do not mention it to me; there is nothing to be done with thoſe People, they are all either madmen or fools."—"The Archbiſhop of *Sens*"——"The Archbiſhop of *Sens* is the greateſt madman among them."—"You will allow at leaſt that he is not a fool, and I will convince you that he is not mad; you are much in the wrong to ſpeak of him as you do: the proof of his not being mad is, that he thinks highly of you."—"Of me! He does not even

even know my name."—"You are mistaken; he has heard a great deal of you, and does not doubt that you could, if you would, be of very great service to the Administration: he has even proposed you to the King, and to give you an Abbey."—"An Abbey!"—"Yes, an Abbey, and an Abbey too with a revenue of 12,000 livres; this deserves attention."—"No doubt it would, if what you say were true."—"I can show you all I have said to you, written by the hand of the Minister himself; and I should not have mentioned it to you, had I not been expressly commissioned by him to do it."—"Oh! that alters the case."—"Well! what answer shall I give?"—"I cannot pretend to say that a good Abbey would not give me a very great pleasure."—"That's right, and you may depend upon having one; but may the Ministry also depend upon your services?"—"Of course; and if they will listen to me they will be guilty of fewer follies."—"Then I may write to the Archbishop of *Sens* that you accept the Abbey, and so forth."—"Yes, certainly; but when is this to take place?"—"Immediately after the closing of our Provincial Assembly. You must go to Versailles, where you will see the Archbishop; converse with him upon the subject, and in the next arrangement of the list you will be appointed."

From that moment the Abbé *Sieyes* entirely changed his tone in the Assembly, to the great astonishment of those who were unacquainted with his

his ſecret. They continued ſitting for about ſix weeks longer. Hardly were they broke up when the Abbé *Sieyes* repaired to Verſailles, and preſented himſelf at the Hotel of the Archbiſhop of *Sens*. During two hours he waited in vain in the anti-chamber for the moment when he ſhould be introduced into the Miniſter's cloſet. At length finding that he was not ſent for, he deſired a ſervant to go and announce him again; but by that he gained nothing, for all the anſwer brought back by the ſervant was, that his Lordſhip was very buſy, and could not ſee any body. The Abbé, convinced that he had been made game of, went away exaſperated at the Cardinal, and ſadly vexed at having yielded ſo eaſily to corruption, eſpecially as he had experienced all the ſhame without reaping any of the profit of it. He haſtened to the Abbé *de Cezarges*, related his adventure, and reproached him very bitterly for having made himſelf the inſtrument of ſo abominable a piece of treachery. The Abbé *de Cezarges* did all he could to appeaſe his anger, and to perſuade him that the Archbiſhop's mind could not be changed: he promiſed him to go and ſee the Miniſter in the courſe of the day, and aſcertain his intentions. It was not till he heard of the Abbé *Sieyes's* great rage that the Archbiſhop remembered the promiſes he had deſired to be made to him more than ſix weeks before, or even his name, which he had almoſt forgotten. "Let him know (ſaid he to "the Abbé *de Cezarges*) that I was ignorant of "his

" his being at Verſailles, and that my ſervant " having miſunderſtood, or not retaining his " name, had pronounced it in ſuch a bungling " manner, that it had been impoſſible for me to " gueſs it was he who was announced. Let him " come again to ſee me, and I will make my " peace with him."

This converſation, with the particulars of which the Abbé *Sieyes* was next day informed, appeaſing his wrath, and reviving his hopes a little, he agreed to pay a ſecond viſit to the Archbiſhop of *Sens*. Unfortunately he went the day on which the Miniſter gave a public audience, and when of courſe every body who wiſhed to ſee or to ſpeak to him, went, without being announced, into the Hall as ſoon as the doors of it were opened. The Archbiſhop having never ſeen this Abbé, and being as little appriſed of his ſecond viſit as he had been of his firſt, paid him no attention, and perhaps took him for one of thoſe buſy-bodies who are often ſeen at the levees of Miniſters, though they have nothing to ſay to them, and who attend chiefly to ſay that they had been there. The Abbé *Sieyes* being totally ignorant of the ceremony of Miniſterial audiences, waited and waited in vain for the Archbiſhop's coming up to him. The Miniſter concluded his levee according to cuſtom, as ſoon as thoſe who went to ſpeak to him had ſaid all they had to ſay, and retired to his cloſet, leaving the

the Abbé *Sieyes* in the Hall, confounded, tranſported with rage, and more convinced than ever that he had been made a dupe. He went off curſing the Archbiſhop of *Sens*, and ſwearing to be revenged for ſo atrocious a perfidy. The Abbé *Cezarges* tried without effect to bring him to reaſon, and to juſtify the Miniſter; but he repeatedly anſwered, "Say no more of that man to me! He is a villain! he ſhall know—he ſhall know whom he has to deal with." He accordingly ſome time after publiſhed his firſt pamphlet, entitled, "*Moyens d'Exécution*," in which he inſerted the moſt virulent declamation that had ever been made againſt the Archbiſhop of *Sens*.

This anecdote was told by the Abbé *Cezarges* to many of his friends, who have repeated it to me with the ſame circumſtances. It was alſo confirmed to me by *M. de L*——, the member of the Provincial Aſſembly of Orleans, whom I mentioned to have been the perſon who adviſed the Archbiſhop of *Sens* to gain the Abbé *Sieyes*.

Nº II.

Note relative to the Cardinal de Rohan, his Arreſt, and the celebrated Affair of the Necklace.

THE Cardinal *de Rohan* being, as High Almoner of France, at the head of the Adminiſtration of the Hoſpital of *Quinze-Vingts**, had made ſuch advantageous reforms and improvements in that eſtabliſhment, that he had conſiderably increaſed the number of the perſons admitted, who were the blind, thoſe being the objects of the charity, which was founded by *St. Louis*. The King, who always took great intereſt in whatever could contribute to the good of humanity in general, and to the relief of the poor in particular, ſaw with great ſatisfaction the happy effects of the changes wrought by the High Almoner; and being deſirous of ſecuring them ſtability, by appointing to the ſuperintendance perſons of ſome reſpectability and knowledge, his Majeſty for that purpoſe added a Counſellor of State and three Maſters of Requeſts to the Council of Adminiſtration of the *Quinze-Vingts*; among the members of which, previous to this addition, there were two Clerks-Counſellors, of the Parliament of Paris. A little while after, a wretched

* So called from the original number of the charitable objects received into the Hoſpital, which was 300:—before the Revolution it had increaſed to above 800.

intrigue,

intrigue, the details of which would lead me too far, caused such a disagreement among the Directors, that the two Counsellors from the Parliament dropped their attendance at the Council, and gave in their resignation by a public deed; in which they declared, that they could not with honour keep their places in the Administration. They added some articles in support of their declaration respecting several pretended violations of the statutes, with some charges, more or less serious, against the principal persons employed by the Cardinal *de Rohan*. Two of the Masters of Requests, who had been appointed members of the Council, apprehending that their delicacy might be called in question if they retained an office which two other Magistrates declared they could not undertake with honour, determined very wisely to consult the Court of Requests. There the meeting of the Masters referred the business to a Committee, of which I was appointed Reporter. I went the very day this took place to the Hotel of the Cardinal *de Rohan*, with whom I was not at all acquainted. I told him the nature of my visit, and asked if he would allow me to look over the registers of the Administration of the *Quinze-Vingts*, and all the papers I might want, in order to investigate the facts stated by the articles in the resignation of the two Counsellors. Far from giving the slightest opposition to my request, he appeared to wish exceedingly that the affair should undergo a rigorous scrutiny. The

next day he ſent me the regiſters and papers I had aſked for, with a meſſage to ſay that he had directed the Abbé *Georgel*, his Grand Vicar, to give me every information I required. On the Monday following, the Keeper of the Seals, whom I ſaw at Verſailles, ſpoke a great deal of this affair to me, and of the great intereſt which the King took in it; recommending it to me to examine it thoroughly, and enable him as ſoon as poſſible to give an account of it to his Majeſty, who was very anxious to know whether the charges laid againſt the Adminiſtration of the *Quinze-Vingts* were or were not well founded.

This buſineſs redounded completely to the honour of the Cardinal *de Rohan:* the Adminiſtration of the *Quinze-Vingts* was fully juſtified by their regiſters; and all the charges brought againſt it in the reſignation of the two Counſellors were found very inſignificant, or completely refuted by the papers and reſolutions, to which was annexed the ſignature of thoſe very Magiſtrates, whoſe ſcruples were evidently frivolous.

After this affair, I continued from time to time to ſee the Cardinal *de Rohan*, from whom I received very great civilities. He ſoon placed ſo much confidence in me as to ſpeak to me with the utmoſt frankneſs upon all his concerns, and particularly about his ſituation at Court. I ſaw that he was ſincerely attached to the King, and very grateful for the concern which his Majeſty had deigned to ſhow at the clamour that had been

raiſed againſt him reſpecting the adminiſtration of the *Quinze-Vingts:* but the Queen was far from treating him with equal goodneſs; which gave him great uneaſineſs. I did not know, nor did he ever tell me, in what he had diſpleaſed her Majeſty; but the Abbé *Georgel*, with whom I converſed about it, informed me, "That the Car-" dinal during his embaſſy at Vienna had writ-" ten to the *Duc d'Aiguillon*, then Miniſter of " Foreign Affairs, a confidential letter, in which " he had paſſed ſome jeſts upon the Empreſs " *(Maria Thereſa)*; that that Miniſter had been ſo " indiſcreet as to give the letter to *Madame Du-* " *barry*, who did not ſcruple to read it aloud at a " ſupper ſhe gave to a party, with whom ſhe inde-" cently made a laugh at it; that as ſhe told no-" body that the letter was written to the Miniſ-" ter, it was generally ſuppoſed to be written to " herſelf; that it was ſo reported in the account " which was given to the Queen of what paſſed " at the ſupper; and that her Majeſty, highly " diſpleaſed that the Empreſs her mother ſhould " have been made the ſubject of laughter for " *Madame Dubarry* and her gueſts, had never for-" given the Cardinal that letter."

I ſaw but little hopes of an offence of this nature being either repaired or forgotten; and however concerned I felt for the Cardinal's uneaſineſs, of which he was conſtantly talking to me, I did not know how to adviſe him. One day I called upon him juſt ſhe returned from

Verſailles; this was about three months before his arreſt: as he appeared unuſually gay and ſatisfied, I aſked if he had any good news to tell me? "Yes, yes, (replied he) excellent, and ſuch "as I hope will give you great pleaſure; but "firſt give me your word that you will keep what "I am going to tell you a profound ſecret."—"Certainly."—"I think (continued he) that you "have felt a real concern for the Queen's diſ-"pleaſure againſt me—let me tell you then, that "a change is taking place."—"I give you joy "with all my heart; but do you not flatter your-"ſelf? Have you ſeen the Queen? or has ſhe "written to you?"—"No, but I am to ſee her "on Wedneſday next. I ſhall return on Thurſ-"day-evening, and if you will be here about "nine o'clock you ſhall know all; I can tell you "no more about it at preſent." I was very punctual, and was ſorry to find that the Cardinal's appointment with the Queen, which he expected on Wedneſday, had not been kept. He had been told that her Majeſty had, on account of the noiſe that her reconciliation with him would make, and of the alterations that muſt take place, thought it proper to wait till the King of Sweden's departure, which was fixed for the beginning of the next week, and to poſtpone the appointment that had been made for Wedneſday of the preceding week, till the Friday of the one following. This delay gave the Cardinal the leſs uneaſineſs, as at the time he was informed of it he was alſo

aſſured,

assured, in the most positive manner, that the Queen's disposition towards him became every day more and more favourable. "And have "these assurances (said I) been given to you by "any one on whom you can perfectly rely?"— "Yes, perfectly, and if I could but tell you who, "you would not be less satisfied than I am: a "woman, formed to possess the complete confi- "dence of the Queen, who frequently spends "whole hours alone with her, and, being much "attached to me, has both with zeal and address "seized every opportunity of weakening the pre- "judices her Majesty had conceived against me; "and she has happily succeeded in conquering "them. The affair of the *Quinze-Vingts*, or ra- "ther the manner in which the King mentioned "it before the Queen, had prepared the way, and "convinced her that I was not a worthless fel- "low. Her friend, who knows her better than "any one else, finding this favourable disposition "in her, has very ably kept it up and increased "it; sometimes by mingling in her conversation "slight expressions which produce great effects; "sometimes by speaking, though always with an "air of indifference, of some unhappy families "whom I have relieved. You do not know how "much any thing of a beneficent nature affects "the Queen: it is inconceivable what she gives "away; it is immense, and yet not equal to what "she would give, as she has a fixed sum for her "monthly expences, and when that is expended,

" ſhe is under the neceſſity of poſtponing her " bounties till the month following. The lady I " allude to has done me the ſervice of pointing " out to me very opportunely perſons patroniſed " by her Majeſty, and who were experiencing " great embarraſſments while waiting her relief: " you may believe that I was eager to ſupply " them, and largely."—" But are you ſure the " Queen heard of it?"—" Certainly; for my " money went through her friend's hands. This " is the cauſe of her Majeſty's eſteeming me gra- " dually more and more, and to ſuch a degree as " to give me, in preference to all devoted to " her, the greateſt mark of confidence poſſible. " You will be very much ſurpriſed when I can " tell you what it is."—" And when will that " be?"—" On Saturday next about this time, as " probably the affair will be then all over:—do " not aſk me any thing more about it now."

On the Saturday the Cardinal returned from Verſailles without having ſeen the Queen; having been told that ſhe was ſuddenly taken ill with a violent head-ach and obliged to go to bed: but at the ſame time a paper was given to him from her, " which (ſaid he) ſeals the confidence her " Majeſty has in me."

A third appointment failed in like manner, under pretence of the Queen's being with the Dauphin, who was indiſpoſed; but on putting him off for another week, he was told that her Majeſty had the greateſt plans in view for him, and

and was thinking of nothing leſs than having him made Prime Miniſter. So far was he from not believing it, that he was alarmed by anticipation at the burden and difficulties of ſo important an office. I too from this moment became uneaſy, but from very different motives: I was afraid that this affair, ſtill enveloped in ſo much myſtery, might prove to be ſome Court intrigue, ſome abominable ſnare laid for the Cardinal. I told him my fears, which he turned into ridicule. "What! (ſaid he) do you take me for a child or "an idiot?"—"No, certainly; but without "being either the one or the other, you may be "too ſanguine, too eaſily impoſed upon."—"Well! well! Come, in ſpite of all your incre-"dulity I will convince you;—but give me "your word not to ſpeak to any ſoul alive of "what I am going to tell you."—"You may "depend upon me."—"Let us go into my "cloſet. You know that the Queen is very "fond of fine diamonds. Some time ago a mag-"nificent necklace was ſhown to her, which ſhe "immediately longed to have; but the King "thought it too dear, and would not buy it. "Still ſhe longed to have it. As ſhe could not "pay for it but by inſtalments, and with frequent "delays, of which the jewellers would not run "the riſk, it was neceſſary to find ſome perſon "very ſecure in every reſpect, who would "ſecretly make the purchaſe for her Majeſty, "and who was in a ſituation to anſwer to the "tradeſ-

" tradeſmen for the payments. The friend, of " whom I have ſpoken to you, pointed me " out, and undertook to make the propoſal to " me. I embraced it without heſitation, as you " will readily imagine; and this is the ſtate of " things.—Well! Mr. Incredulous! what ſay " you now?"—" I ſay that I cannot comprehend " it at all. How can the Queen, who has all " the diamonds of the Crown at her command, " have ſo great a deſire for this necklace?"— " How? Becauſe, perhaps, in all the diamonds " of the Crown ſo perfect an aſſortment could " not be made: I tell you there cannot be finer " ſeen."—" Be it ſo; but what can ſhe do with " the Necklace? for, as the King thought it too " dear, ſhe certainly will not think of wearing " it in his preſence, and in his preſence ſhe is, " or may be, every moment."—" I cannot tell " you whether ſhe will or will not wear it; per- " haps ſhe may wiſh to make a preſent of it, or " to keep it locked up till ſhe has a favourable " moment of gaining the King's approbation of " the purchaſe. I cannot ſay, and it does not " become me to queſtion her on thoſe topics."— " Certainly not; but I hope at leaſt that you will " not conclude this affair without having ſeen " the Queen."—" Doubtleſs not: ſee her I muſt " to deliver the Necklace to her."—" Is every " thing already ſettled with the jewellers?"— " Oh, yes! I will ſhow you the agreement ſigned

" by

" by her Majeſty, and all the articles approved in " the margin by her, for I ſee you do not be- " lieve a word of what I am telling you."— " Pardon me, but in affairs ſo nice as this I am " fond of having things upon paper."—" Do " you know the Queen's writing?" ſaid he to me, as he ſhowed me a ſlight paper book which he took out of his deſk. " I do not," I re- plied, " but your Eminence ought to know it " well."—" Oh, perfectly: Read! read!" I ran my eyes haſtily over the conditions of this agreement, which was ſigned *Marie Antoinette de France*, and I certainly ſaw in the margin oppoſite each article the word *approved*, written in a ſmall regular hand like the ſignature. " Well!" ſaid he with a ſatisfied air, " do you begin to ſee " clear?"—" I ſee," ſaid I, " if this be the " Queen's writing, that ſhe writes a pretty little " hand; but I think you have undertaken here " a very tickliſh commiſſion."—" You will " change your opinion, when you ſee the ſequel; " have patience till this day eight days, for I am " poſitively to ſee the Queen next week."

This certainly had no other foundation than the ſame promiſes with which the Cardinal had been kept in ſuſpenſe for ſix weeks before. He went to Verſailles and returned without ſeeing her Majeſty; the reaſon given was, that the King had paſſed the whole evening with her; and the Cardinal admitted this account with an eaſe and confidence that aſtoniſhed me. I expreſſed to him

him great uneaſineſs at his ſituation. " And has " not the Queen even written to you?" ſaid I. " Have not you a ſingle letter from her on this buſi- " neſs?"—" No; but ſhe has made her friend write " to me, and that's the ſame thing. I will ſhow " you a letter that will ſatisfy you." He opened a ſmall preſs in an angle between the fire-place and the window, and, taking out a handful of let- ters, read me one of them, about a page and a half long. It was an inexplicable piece of am- biguity, which I had no ſooner read than I ſaid to the Cardinal with warmth—" If it be not, my " Lord, the moſt reſpectable woman in the " Kingdom who has written this letter, you are " ſhamefully played upon. What does all this " ſignify? There are expreſſions in it which may " apply to ſome circumſtances relative to the " Necklace, when we know them, but they may " as well and better be applied to a hundred " other ſtories: in ſhort, this letter is ſo inappli- " cable, that happen what will, you can make no " uſe of it; and I am convinced that the perſon " who wrote it had this in view."—" Fie! do " not talk in that manner. You would ſpeak " very differently if you knew how much that " perſon is in every reſpect above all ſuſpi- " cion; beſides, have not you ſeen the agree- " ment ſigned and approved by the Queen?" — " Yes; but as I am unacquainted with her Ma- " jeſty's writing, which may very well have been " forged, and alſo with the lady ſo eſtimable,

" and

" and who may be much leſs ſo than you ima-
" gine, I am more apprehenſive than ever that
" this affair may turn out very troubleſome to
" you. There is but one thing that can remove
" my fears; and that is, as you have not yet deli-
" vered the Necklace, that you promiſe me, and
" I conjure you, not to part with it but to the
" Queen herſelf."—" I do promiſe you, and ſo
" you may be eaſy: indeed you would be per-
" fectly ſo, if you knew the name of the perſon;
" all I can tell you is, that there is not a more
" diſtinguiſhed one in the Kingdom."

Two days after this I went into Britany, where I had not been ſix weeks before I learned, by the public papers, that the Cardinal was arreſted, without any particulars of the cauſe of ſo extraordinary an event; but it was not difficult for me to gueſs it.

The circumſtances given in evidence are all that have been certainly known. What I have here related could not be proved but by my teſtimony, which was not taken, or by *Madame La Mothe's* correſpondence, and that was burnt an hour after the Cardinal's arreſt. He was ſo thoroughly convinced that that correſpondence contained the Queen's ſecret, and that the ſeverity with which her Majeſty had treated him before the King was a proof of the implicit confidence ſhe had in his diſcretion, that, inſtead of attempting to juſtify himſelf to the King, he only thought of not expoſing the Queen. After confirming, ſometimes

times by his silence, sometimes by the embarrassment of his replies to their Majesties' questions, a charge that could not but excite their indignation against him, his first care, the moment he was arrested, was to dispatch one of his people post to Paris, with an order to open the press in his closet which contained all *Madame La Mothe's* letters, and to burn them. This order he delivered to his man in German, that he might not be understood by the Officer who went with him from the King's chamber to the apartments occupied by the High Almoner in the Palace. An Adjutant of the *Gardes-du-Corps*, was charged to take him first to Paris to seize his papers, and then to the Bastille.

By destroying this correspondence the Cardinal lost the most important papers for his justification; for they would have shown the manœuvres, the profound and studied subtilty practised by the most intriguing of women, to convince him of the kindness, extreme confidence, and friendship which the Queen bestowed upon her; of the essential service it was in her power to render him with her Majesty, and the like. Had this point been cleared up, the obscurity in which the affair remained enveloped would have been dispelled. It would have been evident to all, that the Cardinal, far from being seduced by the ambitious and criminal hopes of which he was accused, had no other object in view than to gain the Queen's good opinion, by lending her his

his credit for the purchaſe of a Necklace, which he could not but believe ſhe wiſhed very much to poſſeſs, as the fact was atteſted to him, not only by a perſon who he thought had received the commiſſion expreſsly from her Majeſty, but by a writing which he imagined to be ſigned and approved by the Queen.

It has been very inconſiderately ſuppoſed that the Cardinal was too well acquainted with the Queen's writing, and particularly her ſignature, to be ſo groſsly deceived in it. He had never received a letter from her Majeſty, and could never have ſeen her writing, or rather her ſignature, but twice or thrice in a hurry on the regiſters of baptiſm; and does it therefore follow that he could have preſerved ſo accurate a remembrance of it, as to know it long after, though written in a different manner, or with different pens? It was ſaid that at leaſt he knew that the Queen's ſignature was *Marie Antoinette*, and not *Marie Antoinette de France*. It was doubtleſs poſſible for him to have obſerved this from the regiſters of baptiſm; but it was alſo poſſible for him not to have attended to it, or, if he did, to have imagined that the Queen might ſign differently in public regiſters and private deeds. Nay, how could he ſuſpect it, when he had in his hands a deed that he muſt as firmly have believed to have been ſigned by the Queen, as if he had ſeen her write her name to it, becauſe a part of the firſt inſtalment to which the inſtrument bound

her Majesty, was paid on her account into the Cardinal's own hands by *Madame La Mothe?*

The most moderate censurer of the Cardinal's conduct must have blamed the excess of his credulity; but to judge in what degree he deserved this censure, it would have been necessary to know all the art practised by *Madame La Mothe* to make herself mistress of his confidence, which unfortunately for him it was but too easy both to gain and to keep. Being absent from Court, and from Paris, a great part of the year, he knew *Madame La Mothe* only by her genealogy *, by the patronage she had received from the King and Queen, and by the favourable accounts given of her to him by all persons whose good offices she had managed to secure. Finding her sprightly and amiable, the Cardinal was naturally led to believe that those qualities, which

* The genealogy of the dame *Valois de la Motbe*, according to the most authentic titles, and certified by the genealogist *D'Hozier de Serigny*, King of Arms in France, derives her descent from *Henry Valois de St. Remi*, the natural son of *Henry II.* and of *Nicola de Savigny*. The Duke *de Cereste Brancas* undertook to present a Memorial to the Queen and to *M. de Maurepas*, in favour of the *Demoiselle de Valois* and her brother, whom *Madame de Boulainvilliers* had found at Passi asking charity, and whom she had brought up at her own expence. The King granted them pensions. The young *Valois*, who was serving in the navy as a sailor, was immediately made an Officer, and took the title of Baron *de Valois*. He proved as worthless as his sister, but with less ability: he died before her.

the

the name of *Valois* muſt render ſtill more intereſting in the eyes of the Queen, had gained *Madame La Mothe* her Majeſty's affection, and implicit confidence. Moſt of thoſe who have caſt the greateſt cenſure on the Cardinal would perhaps have fallen as blindly into the ſame fault, had the ſame ſnares been laid for them.

The ſeverity, as unmerited as impolitic, with which this error was puniſhed would be a ſtain upon the memory of *Louis XVI.* had he not been entirely ignorant of all the facts I have been relating; had not the Miniſter * who was the informer, or reporter of the information againſt the Cardinal, no doubt more induced by his zeal than by his former enmity to the High Almoner, repreſented this affair to their Majeſties in all the odious lights in which it could be placed; and had he not painted it as ſo ſerious an offence againſt the honour of the Queen, or at leaſt ſo calculated to implicate her, that the ſlighteſt indulgence might caſt a ſuſpicion of connivance on her Majeſty. The King conſidered the Cardinal, and could not do otherwiſe, as guilty of High Treaſon; for, according to the laws of France, the crime of which he was accuſed came under that deſcription; and in being ſo pointedly harſh to him, his Majeſty meant to make the moſt lawful uſe of his authority, and at the ſame

* The Baron *de Breteuil.*

time such as the Queen's honour imperiously prescribed.

This exertion of power was certainly unmerited, and its consequences have sufficiently proved that it was no less impolitic. It was humbling unnecessarily a powerful and numerous family, whose rank, alliances, respectability, and services deserved consideration; it was alienating the first Noblemen of the Kingdom, and alarming every body; it was, in short, preparing and facilitating the Revolution, by awaking ideas of despotism which the reign of *Louis XVI.* had buried in oblivion, and by exciting a general desire of seeing the Royal authority limited.—This desire, so uanimously expressed in the instructions of the Bailiwicks, would have been considered as an absurdity had it not been for this incident of the Cardinal *de Rohan*; and yet it was by striving to accomplish it, or at least under that pretence, that the Monarchy was overthrown. It may then be well said, that the unfortunate affair of the Cardinal *de Rohan* is not less connected with the History of the Revolution than with that of the Bastille.

END OF THE FIRST VOLUME.

APPENDIX.

[N° 1.]

Récit fait, le 16 Juillet 1789, à l'Assemblée Nationale, par M. MOUNIER, *membre de la députation qu'elle avoit envoyée à Paris le jour précédent.*

MESSIEURS, les commissaires nommés par l'Assemblée Nationale, pour contribuer au rétablissement du calme dans la ville de Paris, sont partis hier de Versailles, à trois heures après midi. Dans le lieu même de leur départ, les acclamations, les applaudissemens commencèrent, et dès ce moment ils ne cessèrent plus.

Pendant toute la route, le peuple se rendoit en foule sur leur passage, les combloit de bénédictions, et se livroit à tous les transports de la plus vive allégresse. Les militaires partageoient les mêmes sentimens. Officiers et soldats, étrangers et françois, tous paroissoient animés du même esprit. Tous les regards exprimoient l'attendrissement, toutes les bouches, le patriotisme et l'humanité. Nous marchions au milieu d'une foule

immense, mais nous ne pouvions y avoir que des amis et des frères.

Entrés dans Paris, une brigade de maréchaussée, des gardes de la prévôté et un trompette qui nous avoient joints sur la route, marchoient devant nous, et annonçoient l'arrivée des députés. Des bourgeois armés, mêlés avec des soldats, nous environnoient pour former notre cortège.

Arrivés à la place Louis XV, nous descendons de nos voitures. Une garde nombreuse nous escorte: un peuple innombrable s'offre de tous côtés à nos regards. Les bourgeois et les soldats armés, sont rangés en haie sur notre passage. Les spectateurs tâchent de donner essor au sentiment qui les oppresse, par tous les signes de la plus vive affection. C'est pour eux une vive jouissance que de serrer les mains d'un des membres de l'Assemblée Nationale. L'air est incessamment frappé des applaudissemens, des cris de joie, auxquels se joint le brûit des tambours et des instrumens de musique. Les citoyens se félicitent, s'embrassent réciproquement. Tous les yeux sont mouillés de larmes; par tout se montre l'ivresse du sentiment. De toutes parts on s'écrie, *vive le Roi, vive la Nation, vive les Députés !*

Jamais fête publique ne fut aussi belle, aussi touchante; jamais on ne vit des milliers de citoyens se presser ainsi sur les pas de leurs représentans, pour contempler dans cette marche auguste et solennelle, l'image de la liberté. L'his-

toire n'offre point de pareil exemple, l'histoire ne parviendra jamais à retracer ce que nous avons vu, et sur-tout ce que nous avons senti.

Arrivés à l'Hôtel-de-Ville, quel beau spectacle se présente! La place est couverte d'une foule prodigieuse de citoyens armés et non armés. Les mêmes acclamations que nous avions entendues sur notre passage, sont sans cesse répétées. Entrés dans la salle principale, la foule est si nombreuse, elle est si transportée de joie, que le silence s'obtient avec peine. Enfin, M. le marquis de la Fayette annonce que le Roi est venu au milieu de l'Assemblée Nationale, sans pompe, sans appareil. Il leur fait lecture du discours que le Roi a prononcé; il leur rappelle les témoignages d'amour et de sensibilité donnés au monarque par les représentans de la Nation, et ce beau moment où Sa Majesté est retournée à pied au château, au milieu de l'Assemblée Nationale et des habitans de Versailles, gardé par leur amour et leur inviolable fidélité.

On répond par de nombreux applaudissemens et des cris de *vive le Roi!* Ensuite, M. le comte de Lally-Tollendal prend la parole. Après avoir donné au patriotisme, à la fermeté des Parisiens, un juste tribut d'éloges; après avoir exprimé la douleur qu'avoient éprouvé les représentans de la Nation, en apprenant les malheurs de la Capitale; après avoir décrit les scènes touchantes de Versailles, il parle de la liberté et de la patrie; il parle

du Roi, de ses vertus, des devoirs des François, avec un ton si noble, si propre à émouvoir, avec une éloquence si persuasive, que la foule des auditeurs est entraînée, que l'ivresse est au comble. L'amour de la patrie, l'amour du Roi exaltent toutes les ames. L'orateur est pressé dans les bras de ceux qui l'entourent: une couronne de fleurs lui est offerte; sa modestie la repousse; il en fait hommage à l'Assemblée Nationale. Malgré ses efforts, elle est placée sur sa tête. On veut ensuite le présenter au peuple assemblé sur la place. Il résiste en vain; il est porté vers une fenêtre, d'où il reçoit les applaudissemens du peuple.

Après le discours de M. de Lally-Tollendal, Mgr. l'Archevêque de Paris a fait de nouvelles exhortations pour le rétablissement de la paix, et proposé de se rendre à l'église de Notre-Dame pour offrir à Dieu des actions de graces.

Le président de l'assemblée des Électeurs a prononcé un discours qui respiroit le zèle et le patriotisme. Il a exhorté le peuple à oublier tout ressentiment, et il en a reçu la promesse.

M. le duc de Liancour a annoncé que Sa Majesté autorisoit le rétablissement de la milice bourgeoise.

M. le comte de Clermont-Tonnerre a parlé ensuite avec beaucoup de succès; il a été fort applaudi.

On a déclaré à M. le marquis de la Fayette

qu'il étoit nommé Commandant général de la milice Parisienne.

Le grand nombre de citoyens qui remplissoient la salle de l'Hôtel-de-Ville, conjuroit les commissaires, par les plus vives, les plus pressantes instances, de demander le retour de M. Necker. Ils ont exprimé le vœu de voir confier à M. Bailly la place de Maire de la Ville. Cet excellent citoyen, ainsi que Mgr. l'Archevêque de Paris, ont reçu des témoignages bien flatteurs et bien mérités de l'affection et de l'estime des Parisiens.

Les commissaires de l'Assemblée Nationale se sont mis ensuite en marche pour l'Église de Notre-Dame dans le même ordre. On a chanté le *Te Deum*, et on a fait prêter serment à M. de la Fayette de remplir fidèlement les fonctions de général. Le serment a été prêté au bruit du canon, des tambours et d'une musique militaire.

Après le *Te Deum*, les commissaires se sont rendus chez Mgr. l'Archevêque. A mesure qu'ils sortoient de l'Archevêché, ils étoient conduits par une garde bourgeoise au lieu de leur départ, et recevoient sur leur passage les honneurs militaires, au milieu des acclamations des citoyens.

Je dois ajouter que, dans toutes les rues de Paris comme dans la salle de l'Hôtel-de-Ville, on demandoit à grands cris l'éloignement des nouveaux ministres, et le retour de M. Necker. Les habitans de Paris envioient le bonheur dont avoit joui l'Assemblée Nationale, et témoignoient le

désir de voir leur monarque au milieu d'eux, comme nous l'avions eu au milieu de nous.

Ainsi Paris va jouir des douceurs de la paix. La milice bourgeoise préviendra tous les désordres : elle sera commandée par un héros dont le nom est cher à la liberté dans les deux mondes, mais par un héros françois qui sait tout à la fois aimer son prince et abhorrer l'esclavage.

Nous devons des regrets sans doute à tous les maux que la Capitale a soufferts. Puisse-t-elle ne jamais revoir les terribles momens où la loi n'a plus d'empire ; mais puisse-t-elle ne plus éprouver le joug du despotisme ! Elle est digne de la liberté ; elle la mérite par son courage et son énergie.

A qui peut-on reprocher le sang répandu ? N'est-ce pas aux perfides conseillers qui ont pu surprendre la religion du Roi, jusqu'au point de faire interdire par des soldats, aux représentans de la Nation l'entrée du lieu ordinaire de leurs séances, de transformer l'Assemblée Nationale en un lit de justice ; de rassembler ensuite à grands frais une armée, dans un moment où les finances sont dans le plus grand désordre, où l'on éprouve une affreuse disette ; de porter cette armée à Paris, à Versailles et dans les environs, d'alarmer ainsi le peuple sur la sûreté personnelle de ses représentans ; de placer l'appareil de la guerre auprès du sanctuaire de la liberté et d'éloigner des ministres vertueux qui jouissoient de la con-

fiance publique ; d'intercepter le passage sur les routes de Paris à Versailles, et de traiter les sujets du Roi comme les ennemis de l'État.

Sans doute, il n'est aucun de nous qui n'eût désiré de prévenir, par tous les moyens possibles les troubles de Paris; mais les ennemis de la Nation n'ont pas craint de les faire naître. Ces troubles vont cesser; la constitution sera établie; elle nous consolera, elle consolera les Parisiens de tous les malheurs précédens; et parmi les actes du désespoir du peuple, en pleurant sur la mort de plusieurs citoyens, il sera peut-être difficile de résister à un sentiment de satisfaction, en voyant la destruction de la Bastille, où, sur les ruines de cette horrible prison du despotisme, s'élèvera bientôt, suivant le vœu des citoyens de Paris le statue d'un bon Roi, restorateur de la liberté et du bonheur de la France.

[N°. 2.]

Lettre du Président de l'Assemblée Nationale à Mr. Necker.

A Versailles, le 16 Juillet 1789.

L'Assemblée Nationale, Monsieur, avoit déjà consigné dans un acte solennel, que vous emportiez son estime et ses regrets ; cet honorable témoignage vous a été adressé de sa part et vous devez l'avoir reçu.

Ce matin elle avoit arrêté que le Roi seroit supplié de vous rappeller au ministère. C'étoit tout-à-la-fois son vœu qu'elle exprimoit et celui de la capitale qui vous réclamoit à grands cris.

Le Roi a daigné prévenir notre demande, votre rappel nous a été annoncé de sa part, la reconnoissance nous a aussitôt conduits vers Sa Majesté, et elle nous a donné une nouvelle marque de confiance en nous remettant la lettre qu'elle vous avoit écrite et en nous chargeant de vous l'adresser.

L'Assemblée Nationale, Monsieur, vous presse de vous rendre au désir de Sa Majesté; vos talens et vos vertus ne pouvoient recevoir ni une récompense plus glorieuse, ni un plus puissant encouragement.

Vous justifierez notre confiance, vous ne préférerez pas votre propre tranquillité à la tranquillité publique.

Vous ne vous refuserez pas aux intentions bienfaisantes de Sa Majesté pour ses peuples, tous les momens sont précieux. La Nation, son Roi et ses représentans vous attendent.

Signés, JEAN-GEORGE, Archevêque de Vienne, *président*, le comte DE LALLY-TOLLENDAL, MOUNIER, *Secrétaires*.

[N°. 2.] (*bis.*)

Lettre du Roi, à Mr. Necker.

Versailles, 16 Juillet 1789.

Je vous avois écrit, Monsieur, que dans un tems plus calme je vous donnerois des preuves de mes sentimens; mais cependant le désir que les États-Généraux, et la ville de Paris témoignent, m'engage à hâter le moment de votre retour. Je vous invite donc à revenir le plutôt possible reprendre auprès de moi votre place. Vous m'avez parlé en me quittant de votre attachement; la preuve que j'en demande est la plus grande que vous puissiez me donner dans cette circonstance.

Signé LOUIS.

[N°. 3.]

Réponse de Mr. Necker au Roi.

SIRE,

Je touchois au port que tant d'agitations me faisoient désirer, lorsque jai reçu la lettre dont Votre Majesté m'a honoré. Je vais retourner auprès d'elle pour recevoir ses ordres, et juger de plus près, si en effet mon zèle infatigable et mon dévouement sans réserve, peuvent encore servir à Votre Majesté. Je crois qu'elle me dé-

sire, puisqu'elle daigne m'en assurer, et que sa bonne foi m'est connue. Mais je la supplie aussi de croire sur ma parole que tout ce qui séduit la plupart des hommes élevés aux grandes places, n'a plus de charme pour moi, et que sans un sentiment de vertu digne de l'estime du Roi, c'est dans la retraite seule que j'aurois nourri l'amour et l'intérêt dont je ne cesserai d'être pénétré pour la gloire et le bonheur de Sa Majesté.

Je suis avec le plus profond respect, &c. &c.

Signé NECKER.

[N°. 3.] (*bis.*)

Réponse de Mr. Necker à l'Assemblée.

MESSIEURS,

Sensiblement ému par de longues agitations et considérant déjà de près le moment où il est tems de songer à la retraite du monde et des affaires, je me préparois à ne plus suivre que de mes vœux ardens le destin de la France et le bonheur d'une Nation à laquelle je suis attaché par tant de liens, lorsque j'ai reçu la lettre dont vous m'avez honoré. Il est hors de mon pouvoir, il est au-dessus de mes foibles moyens de répondre dignement à cette marque si précieuse de votre estime et de votre bienveillance; mais je dois au moins, Messieurs, vous aller porter

l'hommage de ma respectueuse reconnoissance, mon devouement ne vous est pas nécessaire; mais il importe à mon bonheur de prouver au Roi et à la Nation Françoise que rien ne peut ralentir un zèle qui fait depuis long-tems l'intérêt de ma vie.

Je suis, &c.

Signé NECKER.

[N°. 4.]

Réponse du Duc de Liancour Président de l'Assemblée au discours de Mr. Necker.

SÉANCE DU 29 JUILLET 1790.

" MONSIEUR, vous aviez en vous éloignant des affaires, emporté l'estime et les regrets de l'Assemblée Nationale, elle l'a consigné dans ses arrêtés; et en exprimant ainsi les sentimens dont elle étoit pénétrée, elle n'a été que l'interprète de la Nation. "

" Le moment de votre retraite a été celui d'un deuil général dans le Royaume. "

" Le Roi, dont le cœur généreux et bon vous est connu plus qu'à qui que ce soit, est venu dans cette Assemblée s'unir à nous; il a daigné nous demander nos conseils; nos conseils

devoient être ceux de la Nation ; ils étoient de rappeller à lui le ministre qui l'avoit servi avec tant de dévouement, de fidélité et de patriotisme ; mais déjà le cœur du Roi avoit pris de lui même ce conseil salutaire, et quand nous pensions à lui exprimer nos vœux, il nous remettoit la lettre qui vous invitoit à reprendre vos travaux, il désiroit que l'Assemblée Nationale y joignît ses instances, et il vouloit, pour gage de son amour, se confondre encore avec la Nation pour rendre à la France celui qui en causoit les regrets et qui en faisoit l'espérance. Vous vous étiez en partant dérobé aux hommages du peuple ; vous aviez employé, pour éviter l'expression de son estime, les mêmes soins qu'un autre eût pris pour fuir les dangers de son mécontentement et de sa haine. Vous touchiez au moment où, après une longue et pénible agitation, vous alliez trouver le calme et le repos, vous avez connu les troubles qui agitoient ce royaume, vous avez connu les vœux ardens du Roi et de la Nation ; et sans vous aveugler sur l'incertitude des succès dans la carrière qui, de nouveau, s'ouvroit à vous, vous n'avez pensé qu'à nos malheurs ; vous vous êtes rappellé ce que vous deviez à la France pour l'attachement et la confiance qu'elle vous donne ; vous n'avez plus pensé à votre repos ; et d'après vos propres expressions, vous avez, sans hésiter, *préféré le péril aux remords.* "

" L'empressement des peuples qui se portoient

en foule sur votre route, la joie pure et sincère qu'a reçu le Roi de votre retour, les mouvemens que fait naître votre présence dans cette salle où votre éloge étoit, il y a quelques jours, prononcé avec tant d'éloquence, et entendu avec tant d'émotion, tout vous est garant des sentimens de la France entière. „

" La première Nation du monde voit en vous celui qui, ayant particulièrement contribué à la réunion de ses représentans, a le plus efficacement préparé son salut et peut seul dans ces momens d'embarras, faire disparoître les obstacles qui s'opposeroient encore à sa régénération. Quel homme avoit droit de prétendre à une si haute destinée ? Et quel titre plus puissant pouvoit assurer la France de votre dévouement le plus absolu ? "

" Peut-il donc être offert à la Nation un présage plus certain de bonheur, que la réunion des volontés d'un Roi prêt à tout sacrifier pour l'avantage de son peuple, d'une Assemblée Nationale qui fait à la félicité publique, le sacrifice des intérêts privés de tous les membres qui la composent et d'un ministre éclairé, qui, aux sentimens d'honneur qui lui rendent le bien nécessaire, joint encore la circonstance particulière d'une position qui le lui rend indispensable ?

" Et quelle époque plus heureuse, Monsieur, pour établir la responsabilité des ministres, cette précieuse sauve-garde de la liberté, ce rempart

certain contre le despostisme, que celle où le premier qui s'y soumettra, n'aura de compte à rendre à la Nation, que celui de ses talens et de ses vertus! "

" C'est d'après ce salutaire établissement, que vous avez sollicité vous-même, dont vous aurez été le premier exemple, que l'homme portant un cœur droit, des intentions pures, un caractère ferme, une conscience à l'abri de tout reproche, pourra, s'il est doué de quelque talent, aspirer ouvertement au ministère. Glorieux alors de l'idée qu'aucune action mauvaise, qu'aucune complaisance funeste, qu'aucune intrigue sourde ne pourront être dérobées au jugement de la Nation, il bravera les intentions obscures de la haine et de l'envie, et portera dans son cœur l'heureuse confiance que la vérité est toujours plus forte et plus convaincante que la calomnie, quand l'une et l'autre ne peuvent élever la voix que devant une Nation généreuse et éclairée. "

" C'est en vous soumettant aujourd'hui, Mr., à cette honorable épreuve, c'est en reprenant la place que vous avez consenti d'accepter, que l'exercice de vos talens, que votre fidélité inviolable aux intérêts de la Nation et du Roi, indissolublement liés, désormais sauront prouver à l'Europe, sans l'étonner, combien étoient justes et les regrets publics et l'allégresse universelle dont il appartient à vous seul d'être l'objet. "

" Si dans cette circonstance, il pouvoit m'être permis de laisser échapper l'expression d'un sen-

timent qui ne m'est que personnel, je dirois combien il m'est doux de lier l'époque glorieuse pour moi, d'une fonction honorable que je ne dois qu'à l'extrême indulgence de cette auguste Assemblée et que je ne puis justifier que par mon zèle à l'époque tant désirée de votre retour à un ministère que vous signalerez par votre attachement pour une constitution qui va bientôt assûrer le bonheur de l'Empire. "

[N°. 5.]

Discours prononcé par Mr. Necker à l'Hôtel-de-Ville de Paris, le 30 *Juillet* 1789.

" JE manque d'expressions, Messieurs, pour vous témoigner et en votre personne, à tous les citoyens de Paris, la reconnoissance dont je suis pénétré. Les marques d'intérêt et de bonté que j'ai reçues de leur part, sont un bienfait hors de toute proportion avec mes foibles services ; et je ne puis m'acquitter que par un sentiment ineffaçable. Je vous promets, Messieurs, d'être fidèle à cette dernière obligation et jamais devoir ne sera plus doux ni plus facile à remplir. "

" Le Roi, Messieurs, à daigné me recevoir avec la plus grande bonté et m'assurer du retour de sa confiance la plus entière ; mais aujourd'hui, Messieurs, c'est entre les bras de l'Assemblée

Nationale, c'est dans les vôtres que repose le salut de l'État ; car en ce moment il ne reste presque plus aucune action au gouvernement. Vous donc, Messieurs, qui pouvez tant, et par la grandeur et par l'importance de la Ville dont vous êtes les notables citoyens, et par l'influence de votre exemple dans tout le Royaume, je viens vous conjurer de donner tous vos soins à l'établissement de l'ordre le plus parfait et le plus durable. Rien ne peut fleurir, rien ne peut prospérer sans cet ordre ; et ce que vous avez déjà fait, Messieurs, en si peu de tems, annonce et devient un garant de ce que vous saurez achever ; mais, jusqu'à ce dernier terme, la confiance sera incertaine, et une inquiétude générale troublera le bonheur public, éloignera de Paris un grand nombre de riches consommateurs et détournera les étrangers de venir y verser leurs richesses. Enfin Paris, cette cité, Paris cette première ville de l'Europe, ne reprendra son lustre et sa prospérité qu'à l'époque où l'on y verra régner cette paix et cette subordination qui calment les esprits et qui donnent à tous les hommes l'assurance de vivre tranquilles et sans défiance sous l'empire des lois et de leur conscience. "

" Vous jugerez, Messsieurs, dans votre sagesse, s'il n'est pas tems bientôt de faire cesser ces persécutions multipliées, auxquelles on est soumis avant d'arriver à Paris, et que l'on commence à éprouver à une très-grande distance de la

la Capitale. Il est juste de s'en rapporter à cet égard à votre prudence et à vos lumières; mais les amis de la prospérité publique doivent désirer que les abords de Paris rappellent bientôt au commerce et à tous les voyageurs, que cette ville est, comme autrefois, le séjour de la paix et qu'on peut de tous les bouts du monde y venir jouir avec confiance et liberté du génie industriel de ses habitans, et du spectacle de tous les monumens que cette ville renferme dans son sein, et que de nouveaux talens augmentent chaque jour. "

" Mais, Messieurs, c'est au nom du plus grand intérêt que je dois vous entretenir un instant d'un sentiment qui remplit mon cœur et qui l'oppresse. Au nom de Dieu, Messieurs, plus de jugemens de proscription, plus de scènes sanglantes! Généreux Français, qui êtes sur le point de réunir à tous les avantages dont vous jouissez depuis longtems, le bien inestimable d'une liberté sage, ne permettez pas que de si grands bienfaits puissent être mêlés à la possibilité d'un reproche. Ah que votre bonheur, pour devenir encore plus grand, soit pur et sans tache! Sur-tout conservez, respectez même dans vos momens de crise et de calamité, ce caractère de bonté, de justice et de douceur qui distingue la Nation française, et faites arriver le plutôt possible le jour de l'indulgence et de l'oubli. "

" Croyez, Messieurs, en ne consultant que votre cœur, que la bonté est la première de tou-

tes les vertus. Hélas nous ne connoissons qu'imparfaitement cette action, cette force invisible qui dirige et détermine les actions des hommes! Dieu seul peut lire au fond des cœurs et juger avec sûreté, juger en un mot de ce qu'ils méritent de peine ou de récompense. Mais les hommes ne peuvent rendre un jugement, les hommes surtout ne peuvent ordonner la mort de celui à qui le ciel a donné la vie, sans l'examen le plus attentif et le plus régulier. "

" Je vous présente cette observation, cette demande, cette requête, au nom de tous les motifs capables d'agir sur les esprits et sur les ames; et j'espère de votre bonté que vous me permettrez d'appliquer ces réflexions générales, ou plutôt l'expression de ces sentimens si vifs et si profonds, à une circonstance particulière et du moment. Je dois le faire d'autant plus que, si vous aviez une autre opinion que la mienne, j'aurois à m'excuser d'un tort auprès de vous, dont je dois vous rendre compte. "

" Mardi, jour de mon arrivée à Paris, j'appris à Nogent que M. le baron de Bezenval avoit été arrêté à Villenaux, et cette nouvelle me fut confirmée par un gentilhomme, seigneur du lieu, qui, sans connoître particulièrement M. de Bezenval, mais animé par un sentiment de bonté fit arrêter ma voiture pour me témoigner son inquiétude, et me demander si je ne pourrois pas être en se-

cours à M. le baron de Bezenval qui étoit parti pour la Suisse avec la permission du Roi. "

" J'avois appris la veille les malheureux évènemens de Paris et le sort infortuné de deux magistrats accusés et executés rapidement. Mon ame s'émut et je n'hésitai point à écrire de mon carrosse ces mots-ci à Messieurs les officiers municipaux de Villenaux : "

" Je sais positivement, Messieurs, que Mr. de Bezenval, arrêté par la milice de Villenaux, a eu permission du Roi de se rendre en Suisse dans sa patrie. Je vous demande instamment, Messieurs, de respecter cette permission dont je suis garant, et je vous en aurai une particulière obligation. Tous les motifs qui affectent une ame sensible m'intéressent à cette demande. Mr. De * * * veut bien se charger de ce billet que je vous écris dans ma voiture sur le grand chemin de Nogent à Versailles. "

J'ai l'honneur d'être &c.

Ce Mardi 28 Juillet 1789.

" J'ai appris, Messieurs, que ma demande n'a point été accueillie par Messieurs les officiers municipaux de Villenaux, parce qu'ils vous avoient écrit pour recevoir vos ordres. Éloigné de Paris pendant les malheureux évènemens qui ont excité vos plaintes, je n'ai aucune connoissance particulière des torts qui peuvent être re-

prochés à Mr. de Bezenval ; je n'ai jamais eu de relation de société avec lui ; mais la justice m'ordonne de lui rendre dans une affaire importante, un témoignage favorable. Il étoit commandant pour le Roi dans la généralité de Paris, où depuis deux à trois mois, il a fallu continuellement assurer la tranquillité des marchés, protéger des convois de grains ; il étoit donc nécessaire d'avoir continuellement recours au commandant détenu maintenant à Villenaux ; et quoique dans l'ordre ministériel, j'aurois dû m'adresser au secrétaire d'état de la guerre, qui auroit transmis les demandes du ministre des finances au commandant des troupes, Mr. de Bezenval m'écrivit fort honnêtement, que cette marche indirecte pourroit occasionner de la lenteur dans le service public, il m'invitoit à lui donner des instructions directes, et qu'il les exécuteroit ponctuellement. J'adoptai cette proposition, et je ne peux rendre trop de justice au zèle et à l'activité avec lesquels Mr. de Bezenval a répondu à mes désirs. J'ai remarqué constamment qu'il réunissoit de la modération et de la prudence à l'activité militaire, ensorte que j'ai souvent eu occasion de le remercier de ses soins et de son attention soutenue. Voilà, Messieurs, ce qui m'est connu de ce général en ma qualité d'homme public. "

" Je dois vous dire ensuite de la part du Roi, que Sa Majesté honore depuis long-tems cet offi-

cier de ses bontés. Je ne sais de quoi il peut être accusé auprès de vous; mais, soumis aux loix de la discipline militaire, il faudroit peut-être des titres d'accusation bien formels pour l'empêcher de retourner dans sa patrie; et comme étranger, comme membre distingué d'un pays avec lequel la France a depuis si long-tems des relations d'alliance et d'amitié, vous aurez surement pour Mr. de Bezenval tous les égards qu'on peut espérer d'une Nation hospitalière et généreuse. Et puisque ce seroit déjà une grande punition que d'amener à Paris comme criminel ou suspect, un officier général étranger, qui retourne dans son pays avec la permission du Roi, j'ose vous prier de considérer, si vous ne pourriez pas vous borner à lui demander à Villenaux les éclaircissemens dont vous pourriez avoir besoin et la communication de ses papiers, s'il en avoit. C'est à vous, Messieurs, à considérer si vous devez exposer ce général étranger aux effets d'aucun mouvement dont vous ne pourriez pas répondre. Car distingués, comme vous êtes, Messieurs, par le choix de vos concitoyens, vous voulez sûrement être avant tous les défenseurs des loix et de la justice; vous ne voulez pas qu'aucun citoyen soit condamné, soit puni, sans avoir eu le tems de se faire entendre, sans avoir eu le tems d'être examiné par des juges intègres et impartiaux; c'est le premier droit de l'homme; c'est le plus saint devoir des puissans, c'est l'obligation la plus constamment

respectée par les Nations. Ah! Messieurs, non pas devant vous qui, distingués par une éducation généreuse, n'avez besoin que de suivre les lumières de votre esprit et de votre cœur; mais devant le plus inconnu, le plus obscur des citoyens de Paris, je me prosterne, je me jette à genoux pour demander que l'on n'exerce ni envers Mr. de Bezenval, ni envers personne, aucune rigueur semblable en aucune manière à celles qu'on m'a récitées. La justice doit être éclairée et un sentiment de bonté doit encore être sans cesse autour d'elle. Ces principes, ces mouvemens dominent tellement mon ame, que si j'étois témoin d'aucun acte contraire dans un moment où je serois rapproché par ma place, des choses publiques, j'en mourrois de douleur, et toutes mes forces au moins seroient épuisées. "

" J'ose donc m'appuyer auprès de vous, Messieurs, de la bienveillance, dont vous m'honorez. Vous avez daigné mettre quelqu'intérêt à mes services, et dans un moment où je vais en demander un haut prix, je me permettrai pour la première, pour la seule fois de dire qu'en effet mon zèle n'a pas été inutile à la France. Ce haut prix que je vous demande, ce sont des égards pour un général étranger, s'il ne lui faut que cela; c'est de l'indulgence et de la bonté s'il a besoin de plus. Je serai heureux par cette insigne faveur, en ne fixant mon attention que sur Mr. de Bezenval, sur un simple particulier; je le serois bien

davantage si cet exemple devenoit le signal d'une amnistie qui rendroit le calme à la France, et qui permetteroit à tous les citoyens, à tous les habitans de ce Royaume de fixer uniquement leur attention sur l'avenir, afin de jouir de tous les biens que peuvent nous promettre l'union du peuple et du souverain et l'accord de toutes les forces propres à fonder le bonheur sur la liberté, et la durée de cette liberté sur le bonheur général. Ah! Messieurs, que tous les citoyens, que tous les habitans de la France rentrent pour toujours sous la garde des loix. Cédez, je vous en supplie, à mes vives instances, et que par votre bienfait ce jour devienne le plus heureux de ma vie, et l'un des plus glorieux qui puisse vous être réservé. "

[Nº 6.]

Première Lettre trouvée dans les papiers de Mr. d'Estaing, écrite de sa main.

Lundi 14 Septembre 1789.

Mon devoir et ma fidélité l'exigent, il faut que je mette aux pieds de la Reine, *ce que j'ai vu* dans mon voyage de Paris. *On m'a dit* dans la société et dans la bonne compagnie, qu'on prend des signatures de la Noblesse et du Clergé; les uns disent que c'est à la connoissance du Roi,

d'autres disent que c'est à son insçu. On dit que le Roi ira par la Champagne ou à Verdun; Mr. *de Bouillé* est désigné, Mr. *de la Fayette* me l'a dit; il est froidement positif Mr. *de la Fayette*. . . . . On nomma Mr. le maréchal de *Broglie* commandant le tout; Mr. *de Breteuil* conduit le projet, Mr. *de Mercy agit de concert*. Ces propos, s'ils se répandoient dans le peuple, seroient incalculables. Je suis allé chez Mr. l'Ambassadeur d'Espagne, et c'est là, je ne le cache pas à la Reine, que mon effroi a redoublé. Mr. *de Fernand-Nunès* en a parlé avec moi, je lui ai parlé de ce bruit et de ce plan qui occasionneroient la plus déshonorante guerre civile. Après avoir parlé de la cour errante, de la banqueroute indispensable, Mr. l'Ambassadeur a baissé les yeux; il est convenu que quelqu'un de considérable ou de croyable avoit reçu des signatures. Ce fait m'inspire un genre de terreur que je n'ai jamais connu; la première démarche coûte assez cher, ce seroit des flots de sang: la Reine peut conquérir au Roi son royaume, la nature lui en a prodigué les moyens. . . . . Je supplie la Reine de m'accorder une audience.

[N°. 6.] (*bis.*)

Autre Lettre de Mr. d'Estaing.

Il m'est impossible de ne pas mettre aux pieds de la Reine mon admiration; il faut qu'elle croie

uniquement ses véritables serviteurs ; sa fermeté triomphera tout. . . . . *L'ondulation des idées a failli tout perdre.* . . . . . Les anciens Ministres du Roi n'ont peut-être mérité la haine que par l'instabilité des principes. Ils n'ont *pu empêcher ce malheureux dîner.* La santé à la Nation *a été omise à dessein* ; portée par des personnes augustes, elle auroit tout arrangé. . . . . Le hasard, car il est plus consolant d'y croire, a fait partir deux coups de pistolets, *partis de trop bas pour venir de gens à cheval.* J'ai voulu retenir la Garde Nationale de Versailles. *J'ai en vain retenu, ou relevé les coups.* . . . . . Il faut un autre enthousiasme ; La Reine seule a le pouvoir de le faire naître ; la voilà sur un grand théâtre, avec quelques soins elle sera adorée. . . . . Ah ! Madame, soyez notre première citoyenne, vous serez tout, si vos principes vous permettent de le vouloir. *Le Clergé et la Noblesse n'ont que le Roi pour les sauver.* . . . . . Mr. *de la Fayette* m'a juré que les évènemens *en avoient fait* un Royaliste. Tout Français doit l'être *jusqu'à un certain point.*

[N°. 7.]

L'ASSEMBLÉE NATIONALE AUX FRANÇAIS.*

11 *Février* 1790.

L'Assemblée Nationale s'avançant dans la carrière de ses travaux, reçoit de toutes parts les fê-

* Adresse rédigée par l'Évêque d'Autun.

licitations des provinces, des villes, des communautés, les témoignages de la joie publique, les acclamations de la reconnoissance ; mais elle entend aussi les murmures, les clameurs de ceux que blessent ou qu'affligent les coups portés à tant d'abus, à tant d'intérêts, à tant de préjugés. En s'occupant du bonheur de tous, elle s'inquiète des maux particuliers ; elle pardonne à la prévention, à l'aigreur, à l'injustice ; mais elle regarde comme un de ses devoirs de vous prémunir contre les influences de la calomnie, et de détruire les vaines terreurs dont on chercheroit à vous surprendre. Eh ! que n'a-t-on pas tenté pour vous égarer, pour ébranler votre confiance ? On a feint d'ignorer quel bien avoit fait l'Assemblée nationale : nous allons vous le rappeller. On a élevé des difficultés contre ce qu'elle a fait : nous allons y répondre. On a répandu des doutes, on a fait naître des inquiétudes sur ce quelle fera : nous allons vous l'apprendre.

Qu'a fait l'Assemblée ?

Elle a tracé d'une main ferme, au milieu des orages, les principes de la constitution qui assure à jamais votre liberté.

Les droits des hommes étoient méconnus, insultés depuis des siècles ; ils ont été rétablis pour l'humanité entière, dans cette déclaration qui sera à jamais le cri de ralliement contre les oppresseurs et la loi des législateurs eux-mêmes.

La Nation avoit perdu le droit de décréter et

les loix et les impôts: ce droit lui a été restitué, et en même tems ont été consacrés les vrais principes de la monarchie, l'inviolabilité du chef auguste de la Nation, et l'hérédité du trône dans une famille si chère à tous les Français.

Nous n'avions que des états généraux: vous avez maintenant une Assemblée nationale, et elle ne peut plus vous être ravie.

Des ordres, nécessairement divisés et asservis à d'antiques prétentions, y dictoient les décrets, et pouvoient y arrêter l'essor de la volonté nationale. Ces ordres n'existent plus: tout a disparu devant l'honorable qualité de citoyen.

Tout étant devenu citoyen, il vous falloit des défenseurs citoyens; et au premier signal on a vu cette garde nationale qui, rassemblée par le patriotisme, commandée par l'honneur, par-tout maintient ou ramène l'ordre, et veille, avec un zèle infatigable, à la sûreté de chacun pour l'intérêt de tous.

Des privilèges sans nombre, ennemis irréconciliables de tout bien, composoient tout notre droit public: ils sont détruits; et à la voix de votre Assemblée, les provinces les plus jalouses des leurs, ont applaudi à leur chûte; elles ont senti qu'elles s'enrichissoient de leur perte.

Une féodalité vexatoire, si puissante encore dans ses derniers débris, couvroit la France entière: elle a disparu sans retour.

Vous étiez soumis, dans les provinces, au ré-

gime d'une administration inquiétante : vous en êtes affranchis.

Des ordres arbitraires attentoient à la liberté des citoyens : ils sont anéantis.

Vous vouliez une organisation complète des municipalités : elle vient de vous être donnée ; et la création de tous ces corps, formés par vos suffrages, présente en ce moment, dans toute la France, le spectacle le plus imposant.

En meme tems l'Assemblée nationale a consommé l'ouvrage de la nouvelle division du royaume, qui seule pouvoit effacer jusqu'aux dernières traces des anciens préjugés ; substituer à l'amour-propre de province l'amour véritable de la patrie ; asseoir les bases d'une bonne représentation, et fixer à la fois les droits de chaque homme et de chaque canton, en raison de leurs rapports avec la chose publique : problème difficile, dont la solution étoit restée inconnue jusqu'à nos jours.

Dès long-tems vous désiriez l'abolition de la vénalité des charges de magistrature : elle a été prononcée. — Vous éprouviez le besoin d'une réforme, du moins provisoire, des principaux vices du code criminel : elle a été décrétée, en attendant une réforme générale. — De toutes les parties du royaume nous ont été adressées des plaintes, des demandes, des réclamations : nous y avons satisfait autant qu'il étoit en notre pouvoir. — La multitude des engagemens publics effrayait : nous avons consacré les principes sur la foi qui leur est

due. — Vous redoutiez le pouvoir des ministres: nous leur avons imposé la loi rassurante de la responsabilité.

L'impôt de la gabelle vous étoit odieux; nous l'avons adouci d'abord, et nous vous en avons promis l'entière destruction; car il ne nous suffit pas que les impôts soient indispensables pour les besoins publics, il faut encore qu'ils soient justifiés par leur égalité, leur sagesse, leur douceur.

Des pensions immodérées, prodiguées, souvent à l'insçu de votre Roi, vous ravissoient le fruit de vos labeurs: nous avons jeté sur elles un premier regard sévère, et nous allons les renfermer dans les limites étroites d'une stricte justice.

Enfin, les finances demandoient d'immenses réformes: secondés par le ministre qui a obtenu votre confiance, nous y avons travaillé sans relâche, et bientôt vous allez en jouir.

Voilà notre ouvrage, Français, ou plutôt voilà le vôtre; car nous ne sommes que vos organes, et c'est vous qui nous avez éclairés, encouragés, soutenus dans nos travaux. Quelle époque que celle à laquelle nous sommes enfin parvenus! Quel honorable héritage vous allez transmettre à votre postérité! Élevés au rang de citoyens, admissibles à tous les emplois, censeurs éclairés de l'administration, quand vous n'en serez pas les dépositaires, sûrs que tout se fait et par vous et pour vous, égaux devant la loi, libres d'agir, de parler, d'écrire, ne devant jamais compte aux

hommes, toujours à la volonté commune, quelle plus belle condition! Pourroit-il être encore un seul citoyen vraiment digne de ce nom, qui osât tourner ses regards en arrière, qui voulût relever les débris dont nous sommes environnés, pour en récomposer l'ancien édifice!

Et pourtant, que n'a-t-on pas dit? Que n'a-t-on pas fait pour affoiblir en vous l'impression naturelle que tant de biens devoient produire?

Nous avons tout détruit, a-t-on dit: c'est qu'il falloit tout reconstruire. Et qu'y a-t-il donc tant à regretter? Veut-on le savoir? Que sur tous les objets réformés ou détruits, l'on interroge des hommes qui n'en profitoient pas; qu'on interroge même la bonne foi des hommes qui en profitoient; qu'on écarte ceux-là qui, pour ennoblir les afflictions de l'intérêt personnel, prennent aujourd'hui pour objet de leur commisération, le sort de ceux qui, dans d'autres tems, leur furent si indifférens; et l'on verra si la réforme de chacun de ces objets ne réunit pas tous les suffrages, faits pour être comptés.

Nous avons agi avec trop de précipitation... et tant d'autres nous ont reproché d'agir avec trop de lenteur! Trop de précipitation! Ignore-t-on que c'est en attaquant, en renversant tous les abus à la fois, qu'on peut espérer de s'en voir délivré sans retour; qu'alors, et alors seulement, chacun se trouve intéressé à l'établissement de l'ordre, que les réformes lentes et partielles ont toujours

fini par ne rien réformer; enfin, que l'abus que l'on conserve devient l'appui, et bientôt le restaurateur de tous ceux qu'on croyoit avoir détruits?

Nos assemblées sont tumultueuses... Et qu'importe, si les décrets qui en émanent sont sages? Nous sommes, au reste, loin de vouloir présenter à votre admiration les détails de tous nos débats. Plus d'une fois nous en avons été affligés nous-mêmes; mais nous avons senti en même tems qu'il étoit trop injuste de chercher à s'en prévaloir, et qu'après tout, cette impétuosité étoit l'effet presqu'inévitable du premier combat qui se soit peut-être jamais livré entre tous les principes et toutes les erreurs.

On nous accuse d'avoir aspiré à une perfection chimérique.... Reproche bizarre, qui n'est, on le voit bien, qu'un vœu mal déguisé pour la perpétuité des abus. L'Assemblée Nationale ne s'est point arrêtée à ces motifs, servilement intéressés ou pusillanimes: elle a eu le courage, ou plutôt, la raison de croire que les idées utiles, nécessaires au genre humain, n'étoient pas exclusivement destinées à orner les pages d'un livre, et que l'Être suprême, en donnant à l'homme la perfectibilité, apanage particulier de sa nature, ne lui avoit pas défendu de l'appliquer à l'ordre social, devenu le plus universel de ses intérêts, et presque le premier de ses besoins.

Il est impossible, a-t-on dit, de régénérer une

nation vieille et corrompue... Que l'on apprenne qu'il n'y a de corrompu que ceux qui veulent perpétuer des abus corrupteurs, et qu'une nation se rajeunit, le jour où elle a résolu de renaître à la liberté. Voyez la génération nouvelle. Comme déjà son cœur palpite de joie et d'espérance! Comme ses sentimens sont purs, nobles, patriotiques! Avec quel enthousiasme on la voit chaque jour briguer l'honneur d'être admise à prêter le serment de citoyen!... Mais pourquoi répondre à un aussi misérable reproche? L'Assemblée Nationale seroit-elle donc réduite à s'excuser de n'avoir pas désespéré du peuple français?

On n'a encore rien fait pour le peuple, a-t-on osé dire.... Et c'est sa cause qui triomphe partout. Rien fait pour le peuple! Et chaque abus que l'on a détruit ne lui prépare-t-il pas, ne lui assure-t-il pas un soulagement? Étoit-il un seul abus qui ne pesât sur le peuple?

Il ne se plaignoit pas.... C'est que l'excès de ses maux étouffoit ses plaintes.... Maintenant il est malheureux.... Dites plutôt: il est encore malheureux;.. Mais il ne le sera pas long-tems: nous en faisons le serment.

Nous avons détruit le Pouvoir Exécutif... Non: dites le Pouvoir Ministériel; et c'est lui qui détruisoit, qui souvent dégradoit le Pouvoir Exécutif. Le Pouvoir Exécutif! Nous l'avons éclairé en lui montrant ses véritables droits; sur-tout nous

l'avons

l'avons ennobli en le faisant remonter à la véritable source de sa puissance, la puissance du peuple.

Il est maintenant sans force.... Contre la constitution et la loi: cela est vrai, mais en leur faveur il sera plus puissant qu'il ne le fut jamais.

Le peuple s'est armé..... Oui, pour sa défense: il en avoit besoin. — Mais, dans plusieurs endroits, il en est résulté des malheurs. Peut-on les reprocher à l'Assemblée Nationale? Peut-on lui imputer des désastres dont elle gémit, qu'elle a voulu prévenir, arrêter par toute la force de ses décrets, et que va faire cesser sans doute l'union désormais indissoluble entre les deux pouvoirs, et l'action irrésistible de toutes les forces nationales?

Nous avons passé nos pouvoirs: la réponse est simple. Nous étions incontestablement envoyés pour faire une constitution: c'étoit le vœu, c'étoit le besoin de la France entière. Or étoit-il possible de la créer, cette constitution, de former un ensemble, même imparfait, de décrets constitutionels, sans la plénitude des pouvoirs que nous avons exercés? Disons plus: sans l'Assemblée Nationale, la France étoit perdue; sans le principe qui soumet tout à la pluralité des suffrages libres, et qui a fait tous nos décrets, il est impossible de concevoir une Assemblée Nationale; il est impossible de concevoir, nous ne disons pas une constitution, mais même l'espoir de détruire irrévocablement le moindre des abus. Ce principe est

d'éternelle vérité: il a été reconnu dans toute la France; il s'est reproduit de mille manières dans ces nombreuses adresses d'adhésion, qui rencontroient sur toutes les routes cette foule de libelles, où l'on nous reproche d'avoir excédé nos pouvoirs. Ces adresses, ces félicitations, ces hommages, ces sermens patriotiques: quelle confirmation des pouvoirs que l'on vouloit nous contester!

Tels sont, Français, les reproches que l'on fait à vos représentans dans cette foule d'écrits coupables, où l'on affecte le ton d'une douleur citoyenne. Ah! vainement on s'y flatte de nous décourager: notre courage redouble; vous ne tarderez pas à en ressentir les effets.

L'Assemblée va vous donner une constitution militaire qui, composant l'armée de soldats citoyens, réunira la valeur qui défend la patrie, et les vertus civiques qui la protègent sans l'effrayer.

Bientôt elle vous présentera un système d'impositions qui ménagera l'agriculture et l'industrie, qui respectera enfin la liberté du commerce; un système qui, simple, clair, aisément conçu de tous ceux qui paient, déterminera la part qu'ils doivent, rendra facile la connoissance si nécessaire de l'emploi des revenus publics, et mettra sous les yeux de tous les Français le véritable état des Finances, jusqu'à présent labyrinthe obscur, où l'œil n'a pu suivre la trace des trésors de l'État.

Bientôt un Clergé citoyen, soustrait à la pau-

vreté comme à la richesse, modèle à la fois du riche et du pauvre, pardonnant les expressions injurieuses d'un délire passager, inspirera une confiance vraie, pure, universelle, que n'altérera ni l'envie qui outrage, ni cette sorte de pitié qui humilie, il fera chérir encore davantage la Religion, il en accroîtra l'heureuse influence par des rapports plus doux et plus intimes entre les peuples et les pasteurs ; et il n'offrira plus le spectacle, que le patriotisme du Clergé lui-même a plus d'une fois dénoncé dans cette Assemblée, de l'oisiveté opulente, et de l'activité sans récompense.

Bientôt un systême de loix criminelles et pénales, dictées par la raison, la justice, l'humanité, montrera, jusques dans la personne des victimes de la loi, le respect dû à la qualité d'homme, respect sans lequel on n'a pas le droit de parler de morale.

Un code des loix civiles, confié à des juges désignés par votre suffrage, et rendant gratuitement la justice, fera disparoître toutes ces loix obscures, compliquées, contradictoires dont l'incohérence et la multitude sembloient laisser, même à un juge intègre, le droit d'appeller justice sa volonté, son erreur, quelquefois son ignorance ; mais jusqu'à ce moment vous obéirez religieusement à ces mêmes loix, parce que vous savez que le respect pour toute loi, non encore révoquée, est la marque distinctive du vrai citoyen.

Enfin, nous terminerons nos travaux par un

code d'instruction et d'éducation nationale, qui mettra la constitution sous la sauve-garde des générations naissantes; et faisant passer l'instruction civique par tous les degrés de la représentation, nous transmettrons, dans toutes les classes de la société, les connoissances nécessaires au bonheur de chacune de ces classes, en même tems qu'à celui de la société entière.

Voyez, Français, la perspective de bonheur et de gloire qui s'ouvre devant vous! Il reste encore quelques pas à faire, et c'est où vous attendent les détracteurs de la révolution. Défiez-vous d'une impétueuse vivacité; redoutez sur-tout les violences, car tout désordre peut devenir funeste à la liberté. Vous chérissez cette liberté; vous la possédez maintenant: montrez-vous dignes de la conserver; soyez fidèles à l'esprit, à la lettre des décrets de vos Représentans, acceptés ou sanctionnés par le Roi; distinguez soigneusement les droits abolis sans rachat, et les droits rachetables, mais encore existans. Que les premiers ne soient plus exigés, mais que les seconds ne soient point refusés. Songez aux trois mots sacrés qui garantissent ces décrets: *La Nation, la Loi, le Roi.* La Nation, c'est vous; la Loi, c'est encore vous, c'est votre volonté; le Roi, c'est le gardien de la Loi. Quels que soient les mensonges qu'on prodigue, comptez sur cette union. C'est le Roi qu'on trompoit: c'est vous qu'on trompe maintenant, et la bonté du Roi

s'en afflige; il veut préserver son peuple des flatteurs qu'il a éloignés du trône; il en défendra le berceau de son fils; car au milieu de vos Représentans, il a déclaré qu'il faisoit de l'héritier de la Couronne le gardien de la constitution.

Qu'on ne vous parle plus de deux partis. Il n'en est qu'un; nous l'avons tous juré; c'est celui de la liberté; la victoire est sûre, attestée par les conquêtes qui se multiplient tous les jours. Laissez d'obscurs blasphémateurs prodiguer contre nous les injures, les calomnies; pensez seulement que, s'ils nous louoient, la France seroit perdue. Gardez-vous sur-tout de réveiller leurs espérances par des fautes, par des désordres, par l'oubli de la loi. Voyez comme ils triomphent de quelque délais dans la perception de l'impôt, Ah! ne leur préparez pas une joie cruelle! Songez que cette dette.... Non ce n'est plus une dette: c'est un tribut sacré, et c'est la patrie maintenant qui le reçoit pour vous, pour vos enfans; elle ne le laissera plus prodiguer aux déprédateurs qui voudroient voir tarir pour l'État le trésor public, maintenant tari pour eux: ils aspiroient à des malheurs qu'a prévenus, qu'a rendus impossibles la bonté magnanime du Roi. Français, secondez votre Roi, par un saint et immuable respect pour la loi, défendez contre eux son bonheur, ses vertus, sa véritable gloire; montrez qu'il n'eut jamais d'autres ennemis que ceux de la liberté; montrez que pour elle et pour lui votre constance

égalera votre courage; que pour la liberté dont il est le garant, on ne se lasse point, on est infatigable. Votre lassitude étoit le dernier espoir des ennemis de la révolution; ils le perdent: pardonnez-leur d'en gémir; et déplorez sans les haïr, ce reste de foiblesse, toutes ces misères de l'humanité. Cherchons, disons même ce qui les excuse. Voyez quel concours de causes a dû prolonger, entretenir, presque éterniser leur illusion. Eh! Ne faut-il pas quelque tems pour chasser de sa mémoire les fantômes d'un long rêve, les rêves d'une longue vie? Qui peut triompher en un moment des habitudes de l'esprit, des opinions inculquées dans l'enfance, entretenues par les formes extérieures de la société, long-tems favorisées par la servitude publique qu'on croyoit éternelle, chères à un genre d'orgueil qu'on imposoit comme un devoir, enfin mises sous la protection de l'intérêt personnel qu'elles flattoient de tant de manières. Perdre à-la-fois ses illusions, ses espérances, ses idées les plus chéries, une partie de sa fortune: est-il donné à beaucoup d'hommes de le pouvoir sans quelques regrets, sans des efforts, sans des résistances d'abord naturelles, et qu'ensuite un faux point d'honneur s'impose quelquefois à lui-même? Eh! si dans cette classe nagueres si favorisée, il s'en trouve quelques-uns qui ne peuvent se faire à tant de pertes à-la-fois, soyez généreux; songez que, dans cette même classe, il s'est trouvé des hommes qui ont osé

s'élever à la dignité de citoyens, intrépides défenseurs de vos droits, et dans le sein même de leur famille, opposant à leurs sentimens les plus tendres, le noble enthousiasme de la liberté.

Plaignez, Français, les victimes aveugles de tant de déplorables préjugés; mais, sous l'empire des loix, que le mot de vengeance ne soit plus prononcé. Courage, persévérance, générosité, les vertus de la liberté, nous vous les demandons au nom de cette liberté sacrée, seule conquête digne de l'homme, digne de vous; par les efforts, par les sacrifices que vous avez faits pour elle, par les vertus qui se sont mêlées aux malheurs inséparables d'une grande révolution, ne retardez point, ne déshonorez point le plus bel ouvrage, dont les annales du monde nous aient transmis la mémoire. Qu'avez-vous à craindre? Rien, non rien, qu'une funeste impatience: encore quelques momens..... C'est pour la liberté! Vous avez donné tant de siècles au despotisme! Amis, citoyens, une patience généreuse, au lieu d'une patience servile. Au nom de la patrie, vous en avez une maintenant; au nom de votre Roi, vous avez un Roi: il est à vous, non plus le Roi de quelques milliers d'hommes, mais le Roi des Français..... de tous les Français. Qu'il doit mépriser maintenant le despotisme! Qu'il doit le haïr! *Roi d'un peuple libre*, comme il doit reconnoître l'erreur de ces illusions mensongères qu'entretenoit sa cour qui se disoit son

peuple! Prestiges répandus autour de son berceau, enfermés comme à dessein dans l'éducation royale, et dont on a cherché, dans tous les tems, à composer l'entendement des Rois pour faire, des erreurs de leurs pensées, le patrimoine des Cours. Il est à vous: qu'il nous est cher! Ah! depuis que son peuple est devenu sa Cour, lui refuserez-vous la tranquillité, le bonheur qu'il mérite? Désormais, qu'il n'apprenne plus aucunes de ces scènes violentes, qui ont tant affligé son cœur; qu'il apprenne, au contraire, que l'ordre renaît, que par-tout les propriétés sont respectées, défendues; que vous recevez, que vous placez sous l'égide des loix, l'innocent le coupable..... De coupable! il n'en est point, si la loi ne l'a prononcé. Ou plutôt, qu'il apprenne encore, votre vertueux Monarque, quelques-uns de ces traits généreux, de ces nobles exemples qui déjà ont illustré le berceau de la liberté française..... Étonnez-le de vos vertus, pour lui donner plutôt le prix des siennes, en avançant pour lui le moment de la tranquillité publique, et le spectacle de votre félicité.

Pour nous, poursuivant notre tâche laborieuse, voués, consacrés au grand travail de la constitution, votre ouvrage autant que le nôtre, nous le terminerons, aidés de toutes les lumières de la France; et vainqueurs de tous les obstacles, satisfaits de notre conscience, convaincus, et d'avance heureux de votre prochain bonheur, nous place-

rons en vos mains ce dépôt sacré de la constitution, sous la garde des vertus nouvelles, dont le germe, enfermé dans vos ames, vient d'éclore aux premiers jours de la liberté.

Signés, BUREAU DE PUZY, *Président*; LABORDE DE MEREVILLE, l'abbé EXPILLY, le vicomte DE NOAILLES, GUILLOTIN, le baron DE MARGUERITES, le marquis DE LA COSTE, *Secrétaire*.

[N°. 8.]

Letttre de Mr. de Calonne au Roi, trouvée dans l'armoire de fer.

SIRE,

Ce que j'ai à communiquer à Votre Majesté étant pour elle et pour ses peuples de la plus haute importance, rien ne peut arrêter mon zèle. Dois-je commencer par vous supplier, Sire, de ne voir que la chose sans songer à la personne? Et faut-il qu'un serviteur dont la fidélité ne s'est jamais démentie, ait à craindre que son nom ne nuise à ses paroles? Un jour Votre Majesté me rendra justice : oui, Sire, vous me la rendrez. Mais ce n'est pas en ce moment ce dont il est question : pourrois-je m'occuper de moi-même quand mon Roi est captif, et que ma patrie périt!

Je suis informé, Sire, que ceux qui s'acharnent à vous tromper s'efforcent de vous persuader que l'Angleterre influe dans les troubles qui boulever-

sent votre Royaume; que c'est de l'Angleterre qu'est venu l'argent employé à corrompre vos troupes, et à susciter des insurrections; enfin que cette Nation rivale, pour se venger de la perte de l'Amérique, s'occupe des moyens d'accroître nos désordres, et fomente sous-main ce qui tend à l'entière destruction de la Monarchie française.

Il n'est rien, Sire, de plus contraire à la vérité, de plus opposé aux sentimens du Roi d'Angleterre, de plus éloigné des vues de ses ministres, et de plus incompatible avec la Constitution britannique, qui ne permet aucun emploi clandestin de sommes considérables. Si le ministre peut, en certains cas extraordinaires, suspendre momentanément l'explication d'un article de son compte, en le déclarant destiné à des objets politiques de nature à être tenus secrets, on sait du moins alors l'existence d'un tel article, son montant, et la réserve d'en dévoiler par la suite les causes, sont connus. Or il est constant que ni l'année dernière, ni cette année, il n'y a eu aucun article de ce genre, aucune réserve politique semblable, et je suis autorisé à dire qu'il n'y en aura aucune. C'est donc une chimère détruite par les règles mêmes du Gouvernement anglais, que de supposer qu'il ait envoyé de l'argent en France pour y alimenter la fermentation. Je pourrois ajouter qu'il ne faut que considérer l'état du change, pour reconnoître combien une telle supposition choque toutes les vraisemblances.

Mais comme les meilleures raisonnemens ne suffisent pas quand ceux qui, par leur état ou par leur mission, sont chargés de faire connoître la vérité, osent attester le contraire ; et comme l'erreur dans laquelle ils ont intérêt d'entretenir votre Majesté, pourroit l'entraîner dans des vues qui deviendroient funestes, ou la détourner de celles qui peuvent devenir salutaires, il m'a paru essentiel de vous convaincre, Sire, par des preuves palpables de l'absolue fausseté des perfides insinuations dans lesquelles peut-être se mêle encore le désir de me noircir de plus en plus à vos yeux.

C'est ce qui m'a engagé à en parler à M. Pitt, de manière cependant à ne pas attribuer à Votre Majesté elle-même des sentimens qui pussent paroître injurieux à ceux dont le Roi d'Angleterre fait profession. La pièce *cotée* 1, fait voir comment je me suis exprimé dans la note que M. Pitt m'a prié de lui laisser, et qu'il a mise sous les yeux du Roi d'Angleterre. J'étois bien sûr que sa Majesté britannique qui, plus d'une fois, m'avoit témoigné le vif intérêt qu'elle prenoit à la position de votre Majesté, s'empresseroit de détruire les doutes qu'on veut vous inspirer sur ses dispositions. Mon attente n'a pas été trompée : Georges III à chargé M. Pitt non-seulement de réitérer de sa part les assurances déjà données à ceux qui semblent ne les avoir pas transmises fort exactement, mais même de m'écrire à ce sujet une lettre conçue dans les termes les plus précis,

et dont je pusse faire usage pour détromper Votre Majesté.

J'ai l'honneur de vous envoyer, Sire, sous la cote 2, une copie certifiée de cette lettre de M. Pitt, en date du 6 de ce mois, à laquelle j'ai surabondamment accolé une traduction littérale, quoique je sache que votre Majesté peut entendre le texte anglois. Elle y verra ce qu'elle doit attendre d'un Monarque pénétré de cette vérité, que votre cause est la cause de tous les Souverains, et qui est profondément indigné des traitemens qu'on vous a fait. Comptez, Sire, avec confiance, sur la loyauté et l'élévation de ses sentimens ; ils sont tels, je suis fondé à le dire, et c'est ce que signifie la fin de la lettre de M. Pitt, que tout ce qui tendroit à rétablir votre trône, votre gloire, votre bonheur inséparable de celui de vospeuples, est dans son vœu, dans sa volonté la plus sincère, et qu'il seroit charmé de pouvoir y contribuer. Vous avez présentement sous les yeux la preuve qu'on ne sauroit imputer d'autres sentimens à son principal ministre, et je puis assurer que ce que l'on peut appeler *la Nation anglaise*, sans distinction d'aucun parti, est aussi loin de désirer l'accroissement de nos désordres et d'en profiter bassement, qu'elle l'est d'approuver les excès de la Révolution ou d'être tentée dé les irriter; c'est une notoriété que personne ne peut contester, et à laquelle on opposeroit vainement la démarche ridiculisée ici, d'un club de particuliers fort peu considéré.

Si jamais, Sire, on a voulu vous faire entendre que je serois capable de préférer, en aucun cas, en aucun tems les intérêts de l'Angleterre à ceux de ma patrie et à la fidélité inébranlable que je vous ai jurée, on a dit une grande infamie, et j'ai à y opposer toute la bonne compagnie anglaise qui me connoît, qui m'a entendu, et dont le témoignage mérite plus de foi que des rapports envenimés : mais, si l'on dit que je suis charmé de la sagesse, de la raison, et de la noble façon de penser que je vois, et que ce moment-ci sur-tout m'a fait remarquer dans une Nation vraiment généreuse, pour qui d'ailleurs je dois être reconnoissant, je n'ai garde de m'en défendre, je saisis même cette occasion-ci de renouveller aux pieds de Votre Majesté, le vœu qu'elle sait que j'ai toujours formé de voir vos peuples et ceux-ci unis par les liens d'une franche et étroite amitié, qui feroit la prospérité des deux Empires et le bonheur du monde. Le même vœu existe dans le cabinet de Saint-James ; j'en suis certain ; et s'il survenoit un ordre de circonstances qui mît le Roi d'Angleterre à portée de manifester efficacement les sentimens exprimés dans la lettre écrite par son ordre, une alliance solide entre les deux Nations seroit le seul prix qu'il voudroit retirer des services qu'il auroit pu vous rendre.

Voilà, Sire, des vérités qu'il me paroît utile, même pressant de vous faire connoître, non pour donner aux réflexions et aux conséquences qui

doivent en résulter, plus d'essor que votre présente situation ne vous en permet, mais afin qu'au moins vous ne conserviez pas sur la puissance devenue, depuis trois ans, la plus influante dans la balance de l'Euorpe, une opinion erronée capable de déranger les idées qui peuvent germer dans les secrets de votre ame.

Oserai-je ajouter, Sire, que non-seulement toutes les branches de votre auguste maison, mais aussi toutes les puissances de l'Europe vous regardent avec une attente mêlée d'inquiétude et de désirs favorables; que tous les cœurs des vrais Français gémissent et s'irritent des attentats commis contre vos personnes sacrées; que leur soulèvement unanime contre l'état de contrainte où l'on ose retenir leur Roi, est la seule conspiration qui existe, et que si cette sainte conspiration se contient, c'est uniquement parce que on croit entendre votre silence et qu'on le respecte? Mais, Sire, si le cri du mécontentement, se fortifiant de jour en jour, venoit à éclater avec une énergie prédominante, si le génie tutélaire qui préside aux destinées de la France et à celles des Bourbons, armoit quelque jour une fidélité courageuse contre une licence effrénée, alors, sans doute, alors la France retrouveroit son Roi; il ne se refuseroit pas à des hommages légitimes, et après s'être résigné à tout sacrifice, à se sacrifier lui-même pour ses peuples lorsqu'ils poursuivoient le fantôme du bonheur, il ne les abandonneroit certainement

pas lorqu'ils voudroient se rédimer des horreurs de l'anarchie.

Ce sont, Sire, les sentimens, les vœux et les augures de celui qui est et qui sera, jusqu'au dernier souffle de sa vie,

De Votre Majesté,

Londres, le 9 Avril 1790.

Le très-fidèle sujet et très-obéissant serviteur.
Signé, DE CALONNE.

Je retiens l'original de la lettre de M. Pitt, n'étant pas assuré du sort de celle-ci, quoiqu'envoyée par le moyen le plus sûr que je puisse avoir. J'ose écrire en même-tems à la Reine, me fiant sur la pureté de mes motifs et sur l'intérêt du moment, qui me paroît devoir absorber toutes les impressions antérieures.

[N°. 9.]

APPROBATION,

DONNÉE par le Pape à l'exposition des principes sur la Constitution civile du Clergé, délibérée par les Évêques députés aux États-généraux et publiée en leur nom, et souscrite en forme d'adhésion par tous les Évêques de France, à l'exception de quatre, et par les Évêques étrangers ayant territoire et juridiction en France.

Cette approbation est consignée dans le Bref adressé par Sa Sainteté au Clergé de France et à la Nation Française, le 13 Avril 1791.

Dilectis Filiis nostris S. R. E. Cardinalibus et Venerabilibus Archiepiscopis, Episcopis, et Dilectis Filiis Capitulis, Clero et Populo regni Galliarum : Salutem et Apostolicam Benedictionem.

PIUS PP. VI.

Charitas quæ, docente Paulo apostolo &c. &c. &c.

. . . . . .

Nostrum interea dolorem, quo vehementer afficiebamur, non levis consolatio lenivit, dum interim major Episcoporum Gallicanorum pars sua sponte pastoralis sui muneris officiis addicta, et amore veritatis incensa, constanter adversabatur ipsi constitutioni, eamque oppugnabat in iis omnibus quæ ad Ecclesiæ regimen pertinerent. Huic autem consolationi nostræ novus quoque cumulus accessit, ubi Dilectus Filius noster S. R. E. Cardinalis Rupefucaldius, (*) *Venerabilesque Fratres Archiepiscopus Aquensis* (†) *aliique Archiepiscopi et Episcopi ad numerum usque triginta ut tot tantisque malis occurrerent ad nos confugerunt, die* 10 *Octob.*

(*) Le Cardinal de la Rochefoucauld, Président de l'Ordre du Clergé aux États-généraux, avant la réunion des trois ordres.

(†) L'Archevêque d'Aix, (Boisgelin,) auteur de *l'Exposition des Principes.*

litteris.

litteris datis expositionem miserunt super principiis constitutionis cleri suo cujusque nomine subscriptam, consiliumque nostrum et opem postularunt et tutam agendi normam, in quâ conquiescerent à nobis exquisierunt tanquam à communi magistro et parente. Illud quoque magis magisque nostram consolationem adauxit quod alii Episcopi benè multi, primis adjuncti, prædictam expositionem amplexi fuerant, ita ut cùm ab Episcopis centum triginta et uno istius regni, quatuor dumtaxat dissiderent, cùmque tam ingenti Episcoporum numero, capitulorum etiam multitudo, et parochorum, sive pastorum secundi ordinis pars major accederet, hujusmodi sanè expositio, concordi animorum consensione suscepta totius Gallicani Ecclesiæ doctrina haberetur, et esset, ...

. . . . . .

Datum Romæ apud S. Petrum, sub Annulo Piscatoris, die 13 Aprilis 1791, Pontificatûs nostri Anno XVII.

[N°. 10.]

Lettre adressée au Roi par les Ministres, le 21 Octobre 1790.

SIRE,

Le vœu manifesté des représentans de la Nation vous détermina le 18 Juillet de l'année dernière,

à rappeller deux d'entre nous dans votre Conseil. L'Assemblée avoit déclaré solennellement, qu'ils avoient emporté dans leur retraite, l'estime et les regrets de la Nation. Vous voulûtes encore prendre dans le sein de l'Assemblée, ceux que depuis vous avez associés aux premiers, et elle en a remercié Votre Majesté, par l'organe de son président, qui lui dit en son nom, qu'elle les auroit présentés elle-même.

Ces honorables suffrages nous étoient nécessaires, pour espérer quelques succès, et malgré la difficulté des circonstances, nous crûmes devoir n'écouter que notre zèle et notre dévouement.

Nous avions en nous-mêmes le sentiment de la droiture de nos intentions, il nous fut peut-être permis de compter que la confiance publique nous accompagneroit près de vous, Sire, qu'elle ne pourroit nous être enlevée tant que nous y conserverions tous nos droits; et la loi de la responsabilité à laquelle nous nous étions soumis avant même qu'elle fût prononcée, sembloit devoir nous mettre à l'abri des inculpations hazardées, mille fois plus dures que cette loi.

Ainsi nous avons dû mépriser les traits de la calomnie, les dénonciations vagues et tout ce qui auroit pu nous distraire des soins importans de l'administration.

Ainsi nous avons dû nous exposer à la haine des ennemis de l'ordre, et à la censure de ceux qui ne jugent les Ministres que par les évènemens,

n'apprécient ni les obstacles ni le nombre et le degré d'efforts qui ont été déployés contre eux.

Il est consolant, il est glorieux pour nous de pouvoir invoquer votre témoignage auprès de Votre Majesté elle-même. Elle sait, et elle a eu la bonté de nous le dire quelquefois, combien, dans une carrière hérissée de difficultés toujours renaissantes, il nous a fallu du courage pour y persévérer et supporter le poids de nos places. Elle sait qu'il a fallu nous oublier sans cesse nous-mêmes, pour ne nous souvenir que de l'amour de Votre Majesté pour le bien des peuples, de l'importance de nos obligations et de notre dévouement à de si grands intérêts.

C'est dans les mêmes sentimens et les mêmes principes qui nous ont fait un devoir sacré de tout sacrifice utile, que nous devons maintenant supplier Votre Majesté de prendre en considération s'il ne convient pas à ses intérêts ainsi qu'à la chose publique de choisir d'autres ministres.

Nous avons lieu de juger par ce qui vient de se passer dans l'Assemblée Nationale que nous n'obtenons plus la confiance d'un grand nombre de ceux qui la composent, et quoiqu'elle ait dans sa justice rejetté le décret qui lui a été proposé, quoiqu'il n'ait été rien articulé de précis contre nous, quoique la généralité et l'amertume des imputations n'annoncent que l'impatience de fixer sur nous le tort des malheurs publics, et qu'il nous fût facile de rendre sensible la pureté de

notre conduite, soit dans son ensemble, soit dans tous ses détails, cependant il peut résulter de l'éclat même de cette discussion, et du fantôme de méfiance que l'on cherche à susciter contre nous, une impression fâcheuse pour le bien du service de Votre Majesté.

Daignez donc, Sire, peser dans votre sagesse ce que la circonstance demande de vous. Daignez imposer silence à votre bonté naturelle et ne consulter que l'intérêt de votre personne et de votre administration.

Notre amour pour notre patrie et pour notre Roi vivra toujours dans nos cœurs, et certes quelque puisse être notre sort, nous mériterons toujours d'être comptés au nombre des bons citoyens de votre Empire.

Nous sommes &c. &c.

Signés, L'ARCHEVÊQUE DE BORDEAUX, LA LUZERNE, GUIGNARD, et LATOUR-DU-PIN.

Réponse du Roi aux Ministres.

Saint-Cloud, le 22 Octobre.

Je suis très-touché des sentimens que vous me témoignez. Personne ne sait mieux que moi combien sont peu fondées les inquiétudes que l'on a conçues à votre sujet. Je vous ai toujours vus amis du peuple, de l'ordre, de la justice et des loix. Je prendrai en grande considération

votre lettre, je ferai connoître à chacun de vous mes intentions, et j'attends de votre zèle pour le bien public et de votre attachement pour moi, que jusques là vous n'abandonnerez pas vos fonctions.

Signé LOUIS.

Lettre de Mr. de la Luzerne au Roi.

Paris, le 23 Octobre 1790.

SIRE,

Tous vos Ministres ont mis sous vos yeux leur position et l'état des affaires publiques; mais j'ai plus particulièrement fait sentir à Votre Majesté qu'il m'est devenu impossible de lui rendre des services utiles dans le département qu'elle m'a confié.

Les désordres s'étoient d'abord répandus dans différentes provinces de la France, et s'y sont bientôt accrus. On a ébranlé ensuite la fidélité ou au moins la discipline de divers corps de troupes; aujourd'hui c'est dans les possessions les plus éloignées qu'on suscite des troubles; c'est parmi les équipages des escadres et les ouvriers des ports et arsenaux, qu'on a semé le germe de la licence et de l'insubordination.

Ces ports, ces arsenaux, ces escadres, on doit les regarder comme la véritable égide des colonies françaises; je prierai Votre Majesté d'agréer

que je lui expose bientôt dans un mémoire plus étendu, en quel état je les laisse; et que je lui rende un compte détaillé de mon administration; mais je vais rapidement tracer une esquisse qui en présentera les résultats; elle suffira pour constater les ressources faciles à trouver dans ce qui subsiste, et il importe de faire connoître dès ce moment le parti qui peut être tiré après moi, de ce qui a été fait pendant ma gestion.

Une marine matérielle beaucoup plus considérable qu'elle ne l'a jamais été depuis le commencement du siècle, les approvisionnemens qu'elle exige rassemblés, soixante-et-dix vaisseaux de ligne et soixante-cinq frégates à flot, (je ne comprends dans ce nombre ni quatre vaisseaux et deux frégates qui peuvent être mis à l'eau avant la fin de cette année, ni huit autres vaisseaux et quatre frégates en construction,) une foule d'excellens officiers qui se sont signalés pendant la dernière guerre, et qu'on a constamment exercés depuis cette époque, devroient rendre la France rédoutable à toutes les puissances maritimes, préserver d'insulte ses colonies et être le plus sûr garant du maintien de la paix.

En ce moment néanmoins, les flottes des autres nations couvrent déjà les mers, et nos forces navales restent enchaînées; elles se trouvent condamnées à l'inaction et à l'inertie par l'indiscipline des marins, qui se perpétue par des mouvemens d'insurrection sans cesse renouvellés, par

les soupçons déraisonnables et injustes qu'on leur inspire chaque jour.

Désormais, Sire, un de vos anciens ministres auroit moins que qui que ce soit la faculté d'opposer à ce mal moral les remèdes qu'il faut y apporter. Il est nécessaire, il est instant, comme je l'ai constamment représenté depuis plusieurrs jours, de me nommer un successeur. Je trahirois ma conscience et la vérité que je n'ai jamais dissimulée à Votre Majesté, en n'insistant pas de nouveau sur les motifs qui rendent cette mesure indispensable. Quel que soit celui que vous choisirez pour me remplacer, il est probable qu'il n'éprouvera pas les mêmes difficultés. On n'aura pas encore cherché à aliéner de lui l'opinion publique. Il recueillera au moins les prémices de la faveur populaire, faveur qui peut seconder efficacement ses efforts, et l'aider à établir l'ordre. Cette considération est si décisive et si urgente, qu'aucune autre dans les circonstances actuelles, ne doit la balancer. Mon dévouement pour vous, Sire, est et sera toujours sans bornes. Je n'offre à Votre Majesté qu'une nouvelle preuve de mon attachement pour ses véritables intérêts, et de ma fidélité à mes devoirs, en lui adressant ma démission et en la suppliant de l'accepter.

Signé LA LUZERNE.

Réponse du Roi à Mr. de la Luzerne.

Saint-Cloud, le 23 Octobre.

Vous m'avez, Monsieur, donné l'année dernière une grande preuve de votre attachement en reprenant votre place quand j'ai cru votre retour utile pour mon service et pour le bien de l'État. Vous pensez à présent que votre retraite est nécessaire. Je retrouve en cette occasion le sentiment qui vous a toujours conduit. Je désire que vous exposiez votre conduite, comme vous me paroissez dans la résolution de le faire, et j'en ferai usage suivant les circonstances. Je n'oublierai jamais, et j'aurai du plaisir à vous témoigner ma satisfaction des marques constantes de dévouement que vous m'avez données, et c'est à regret que j'accepte votre démission.

Signé, LOUIS.

[N°. 11.]

Tableau des dépenses de l'année 1791.

Maison du Roi.	25,000,000 liv.
Maison des Princes et remplacement d'apanages.	6,000,000
TOTAL. . . .	31,000,000 liv.

Montant de l'autre part. . .	31,000,000 liv.
Culte et dépenses accessoires. .	140,000,000
Guerre.	89,000,000
Marine.	50,000,000
Affaires étrangères.	6,300,000
Ministres et autres membres du Conseil.	460,000
Bureau de l'Administration générale de la direction du trésor Royal et du trésor public.	1,450,000
Comptabilité.	300,000
Administration, Contrôle des Ponts et Chaussées, &c. . . .	206,000
Ouvrages d'art et travaux à la charge du trésor public. . . .	4,000,000
Invalides et Quinze-Vingt. . . .	846,000
Primes et encouragemens. . . .	4,000,000
Universités, enseignement, travaux littéraires.	1,000,000
Imprimerie Royale.	150,000
Édifices religieux, Communaut.	400,000
Bibliothèque du Roi.	110,000
Jardin des Plantes.	100,000
Dépôts publics.	20,000
Écoles des Mines.	7,000
Session de la Législature et accessoires.	6,000,000
TOTAL. . . .	335,349,000 liv.

Montant de l'autre part. . .	335,349,000 liv.
Pensions.	16,000,000
Rentes de l'Hôtel-de-Ville, Payeurs et Contrôleurs. . . .	152,600,000
Autres Rentes perpétuelles. . .	4,000,000
Autres Rentes viagères.	3,000,000
Rentes sur le Clergé.	3,000,000
Rentes sur l'ancien Clergé. . . .	333,000
Intérêts de l'emprunt de Septembre 1789.	2,600,000
Intérêts d'emprunts et d'effets remboursables.	10,000,000
Intérêts d'emprunts des Pays d'États.	6,000,000
Autres intérêts de créances. . .	129,646
Intérêts de cautionnemens et fonds d'avance.	8,000,000
Amirauté.	6,020,000
Intérêts des charges de Finance.	2,400,000
Emprunt de Gênes et d'Amsterdam.	3,840,000
Indemnités.	1,000,000
Achat de numéraire.	4,000,000
Ateliers de charité momentanés.	5,000,000
Procédure criminelle.	3,000,000
TOTAUX.	566,271,646 liv.

[N° 12.]

Lettre de M. l'Evêque d'Autun, aux Ecclésiastiques fonctionnaires du Département de Saône et Loire, du 29 Décembre 1790.

Mes chers Collégues, l'Assemblée nationale ayant jugé nécessaire d'imposer aux fonctionnaires ecclésiastiques le serment de maintenir de tout leur pouvoir la constitution civile du Clergé, j'ai prêté ce serment, aussitôt que le décret qui l'ordonne a été accepté par le Roi, et je m'empresse de vous l'apprendre Ce devoir que j'ai rempli, dans toute la sincérité de mon ame, vous le remplirez sûrement aussi dans les mêmes sentimens qui m'ont animé. Non-seulement vous verrez qu'il importe essentiellement au maintien, où plutôt au retour de cette paix si désirable dont nous ne devons jamais perdre de vue que nous sommes les ministres ; mais vous verrez aussi qu'il ne renferme rien qui doive alarmer la conscience la plus craintive ; que les décrets qui règlent cette constitution, ont séparé avec un soin religieux ce qui appartient au dogme, de ce qui lui est entièrement étranger ; qu'ils ne sont, sur presque tous les points, qu'un retour respectable aux loix les plus pures de l'Église, que le tems, ou les passions humaines avoient si étrangement altérées, qu'ils

ont rendu plutôt que donné au peuple le droit si naturel de désigner ses pasteurs, et qu'en réduisant le nombre des Évêques par une nouvelle circonscription territoriale, ils n'offrent à l'esprit que l'exercice le plus légitime et le plus incontestable du pouvoir civil de toutes les nations, et non un empiétement sur l'autorité spirituelle. Vous observerez à ce sujet, que, même sous l'ancien ordre des choses, la puissance civile, toute incomplète quelle étoit, auroit pu incontestablement, par des motifs d'une grande utilité publique, auroit même dû, dans le cas, par exemple, d'une calamité locale, appeller les habitans d'un Diocèse dans un autre; que cependant il seroit résulté de là, qu'un plus grand nombre de Fidèles auroient été placés sous la juridiction d'un des deux Evêques, tandis que l'autre n'auroit plus eu de juridiction à exercer, et que c'est précisément et uniquement ce qui a été décrété par l'Assemblée nationale, mais sans déplacement des personnes. Ce rapprochement bien simple, vous paroitra, j'espère, ainsi qu'à moi, tout à fait décisif. Enfin, Messieurs, en improuvant, et toutefois en cherchant à excuser, autant qu'il sera en vous, l'erreur ou l'illusion momentanée de ceux de nos collègues qui, jusqu'à ce jour, ont méconnu ces vérités, vous ferez avec moi les vœux les plus ardens pour que tous les esprits se réunissent promptement dans la profession des mêmes principes, et vous montrerez par votre exemple que

le civisme des pasteurs rend encore plus respectable aux yeux des peuples, la Religion qu'ils enseignent.

La nouvelle circonscription des Diocèses va m'unir aux travaux de plusieurs d'entre vous que je n'ai point encore l'avantage de connoître: je les conjure d'être bien convaincus que ce sera toujours un bonheur pour moi de concourir avec eux à tout ce que la Religion, la charité et le patriotisme leur inspireront pour le plus grand bien des peuples dont les intérêts nous sont confiés en commun.

Signé, l'Évêque d'Autun.

[N°. 13.]

Projet d'adresse aux Français, rédigé par MIRABEAU, *sur la Constitution civile du Clergé.*

FRANÇAIS, au moment où l'Assemblée nationale coordonne le sacerdoce à vos loix nouvelles, afin que toutes les institutions de l'Empire, se prêtant un mutuel appui, votre liberté soit inébranlable; on s'efforce d'égarer la conscience des peuples; on dénonce de toutes parts la constitution civile du Clergé, décrétée par vos Représentans, comme dénaturant l'organisation divine de l'Église chrétienne, et ne pouvant subsister

avec les principes consacrés par l'antiquité ecclésiastique.

Ainsi, nous n'aurions pu briser les chaînes de notre servitude, sans secouer le joug de la Foi!.... Non, la liberté est loin de nous prescrire un si impraticable sacrifice. Regardez, ô citoyens! Regardez cette Église de France, dont les fondemes s'enlacent et se perdent dans ceux de l'Empire lui-même, voyez comme elle se régénère avec lui, et comme la liberté qui vient du ciel, aussi bien que notre Foi, semble montrer en elle la compagne de son éternité et de sa divinité! Voyez comme ces deux filles de la raison souveraine s'unissent pour développer et remplir toute la perfectibilité de votre sublime nature, et pour combler votre double besoin d'exister avec gloire, et d'exister toujours!

On nous reproche d'avoir refusé de décréter explicitement que la Religion catholique, apostolique et romaine est la Religion nationale.

D'avoir changé, sans l'intervention de l'autorité ecclésiastique, l'ancienne démarcation des Diocèses, et troublé par cette mesure, ainsi qu'en d'autres points de la constitution civile du Clergé, la puissance Épiscopale.

Enfin, d'avoir aboli l'ancienne forme de la nomination des pasteurs, et de la faire déterminer par l'élection des peuples.

A ces trois points se rapportent toutes les accusations d'irréligion et de persécution dont on

vouloit flétrir l'intégrité, la sagesse et l'orthodoxie de vos Répresentans. Ils vont répondre: moins pour se justifier que pour prémunir les vrais amis de la Religion contre les clameurs hypocrites des ennemis de la révolution.

Déclarer *nationale* la Religion chrétienne, eût été flétrir le caractère le plus intime et le plus essentiel du christianisme. En général, la Religion n'est pas, elle ne peut être un rapport social; elle est un rapport de l'homme privé avec l'Être infini. Comprendriez-vous ce que l'on voudroit vous dire, si l'on vous parloit d'une *conscience nationale?* Eh bien! la Religion n'est pas plus nationale que la conscience; car un homme n'est pas véritablement religieux, parce qu'il est de la religion d'une nation; et quand il n'y en auroit qu'une dans l'univers, et que tous les hommes se seroient acccordés pour la professer, il seroit encore vrai que chacun d'eux n'auroit un sentiment sincère de la Religion qu'autant que chacun seroit de la sienne; c'est-à-dire, qu'autant qu'il suivroit encore cette Religion universelle quand le genre humain viendroit à l'abjurer.

Ainsi, de quelque manière que l'on envisage une Religion, la dire *nationale*, c'est lui attribuer une dénomination insignifiante ou ridicule.

Seroit-ce comme juge de la vérité, ou comme juge de son aptitude à former de bons citoyens que le législateur rendroit une Religion *constitutionelle?* Mais d'abord, y a-t-il des vérités *na-*

tionales? En second lieu, peut-il jamais être utile au bonheur public que la conscience des hommes soit enchaînée par la loi de l'État? La loi ne nous unit les uns aux autres que dans les points où nous nous touchons. Or, les hommes ne se touchent que par la superficie de leur être; par la pensée et la conscience, ils demeurent isolés; et l'association leur laisse à cet égard l'existence absolue de la nature.

Enfin, il ne peut y avoir de national dans un empire que des institutions établies pour produire des effets politiques, et la Religion n'étant que la correspondance de la pensée et de la spiritualité de l'homme avec la pensée divine, avec l'esprit universel, il s'ensuit qu'elle ne peut prendre sous ce rapport aucune forme civile ou légale. Le christianisme principalement s'exclut par son essence de tout système de législation locale. Dieu n'a pas créé ce flambeau pour prêter des formes et des couleurs à l'organisation sociale des Français; mais il l'a posé au milieu de l'univers pour être le point de ralliement et le centre d'unité du genre humain. Que ne nous blâme-t-on aussi de n'avoir pas déclaré que le soleil est *l'astre de la nation*, et que nul autre ne sera reconnu devant la loi pour régler la succession des nuits et des jours.

Ministres de l'Evangile! vous croyez que le christianisme est le profond et éternel système de Dieu, qu'il est la raison de l'existence d'un univers

vers et d'un genre humain; qu'il embrasse toutes les générations et tous les tems; qu'il est le lien d'une société éparse dans tous les Empires du monde, *et qui se rassemblera des quatre vents de la terre* pour s'élever dans les splendeurs de l'inébranlable Empire de l'éternité. Et avec ces idées si vastes, si universelles, si supérieures à toutes les localités humaines, vous demandez que par une loi constitutionnelle de notre régime naissant, le christianisme, si fort de sa majesté et de son antiquité, soit déclaré la Religion des Français.

Ah! c'est vous qui outragez la Religion de nos pères. Vous voulez que, semblable à ces Religions mensongères, nées de l'ignorance des hommes, accréditées par les dominateurs de la terre, et confondues dans les institutions politiques comme un moyen d'oppression, elle soit déclarée la Religion de la loi et des Césars!

Sans doute, là où une croyance absurde a enfanté un régime tyrannique, là où une constitution perverse dérive d'un culte insensé, il faut bien que la Religion fasse partie essentielle de la constitution.

Mais le christianisme, foible et chancelant dans sa naissance, n'a point invoqué l'appui des loix, ni l'adoption des gouvernemens: ses ministres eussent refusé pour lui une existence légale, parce qu'il falloit que Dieu seul parût dans ce qui n'étoit que son ouvrage; et il nous manqueroit aujourd'hui la preuve la plus éclatante de sa vé-

rité, si tous ceux qui professoient avant nous cette Religion sainte, l'eussent trouvée dans la législation des *Empires.*

O étrange conséquence! Quels sont ces hommes qui nous demandoient, avec une chaleur et une amertume si peu chrétienne, un décret qui rendit le christianisme *constitutionnel?* Ce sont les mêmes qui blâmoient la constitution nouvelle; qui la présentoient comme la subversion de toutes les loix de la justice et de la sagesse, qui la dénonçoient de toute part comme l'arme de la perversité, de la force et de la vengeance; ce sont les mêmes qui nous disoient que cette constitution devoit perdre l'Etat et déshonorer la Nation française.

O hommes de mauvaise foi! pourquoi vouliez-vous donc introduire une Religion que vous faites profession de chérir et d'adorer dans une législation que vous faites gloire de décrier et de haïr? pourquoi vouliez-vous unir ce qu'il y a de plus auguste et de plus saint dans l'univers à ce que vous regardez comme le plus scandaleux monument de la malice humaine? *Quel rapport*, vous diroit S. Paul, *peut-il s'établir entre la justice et l'iniquité? et que pourroit-il y avoir de commun entre le Christ et Bélial?*

Non, Français! ce n'est ni la bonne foi, ni la piété sincère qui suscitent au milieu de vos Représentans toutes ces contestations religieuses; ce sont les passions des hommes qui s'efforcent

de se cacher sous des voiles imposans pour couvrir plus impunément leurs ténébreux desseins.

Remontez au berceau de la Religion ; c'est là que vous pourrez vous former l'idée de sa vraie nature, et déterminer le mode d'existence sous lequel son divin fondateur a voulu qu'elle régnât dans l'univers. Jésus-Christ est le seul de tous les Sages qui se sont appliqués à instruire les hommes et à les rendre bons et heureux, qui ne les ait envisagés sous aucun rapport politique, et qui n'ait, en aucune circonstance, mêlé à son enseignement des principes relatifs à la législation des Empires. Quelle que soit l'influence de l'Évangile sur la moralité humaine, jamais J. C. ni ses disciples ne firent entendre que l'institution évangélique dût entrer dans les loix constitutionnelles des nations. Il n'ordonne nulle part à ceux qu'il a choisis pour publier sa doctrine, de la présenter aux législateurs du monde comme renfermant des vues nouvelles sur l'art de gouverner les peuples : *Allez et instruisez les hommes, en disant, voici que le Royaume de Dieu approche ; et lorsque vous entrerez dans une ville ou dans un hameau, demandez qui sont ceux qui veulent vous écouter, et restez y autant qu'il le faudra pour leur apprendre ce que vous devez leur enseigner ; mais si l'on refuse de vous écouter, sortez ; et soyez en tout prudens comme les serpens, et simples comme les colombes.*

L'Evangile est donc, par son institution, une

économie toute spirituelle offerte aux mortels en tant qu'ils ont une destination ultérieure aux fins de l'association civile, et considérée hors de toutes les relations politiques ; il est proposé à l'homme comme sa seconde raison, comme le supplément de sa conscience, et non à la société comme un nouvel objet de mesures législatives. Enfin, l'Évangile a demandé, en paroissant au monde, que les hommes le *reçussent*, et que les gouvernemens le *souffrissent :* c'est là le caractère extérieur qui le distingua dès son origine de toutes les autres Religions qui avoient tyrannisé la terre, et c'est aussi ce qui doit le distinguer jusqu'à la fin des tems, de tous les cultes qui ne subsistent que par leur incorporation dans les loix des Empires.

C'est donc une vérité établie sur la nature des choses, sur les lumières du bon sens, et sur l'essence même de l'institution évangélique, que vos Représentans, ô Français! ne devoient, ni ne pouvoient décréter *nationale*, la Religion catholique, apostolique et romaine.

Mais, puisque le christianisme est une économie toute spirituelle, hors de la puissance et de l'inspection des hommes, pourquoi nous sommes-nous attribué le droit de changer, sans l'intervention spirituelle, l'ancienne démarcation des Diocèses ?

Certes, on devroit nous demander aussi pourquoi nous sommes chrétiens, pourquoi nous avons assigné sur le trésor national, aux Ministres de

l'Évangile et aux dépenses du culte, la plus solide partie des revenus de l'État?

D'après les élémens de la constitution chrétienne, son culte est l'objet de *l'acceptation* libre des hommes et de la *tolérance* des gouvernemens. Il ne peut être réputé que *souffert*, tant qu'il n'est reçu et observé que par un petit nombre des citoyens de l'Empire; mais, dès qu'il est devenu le culte de la majorité de la Nation, il perd sa dénomination de *culte toléré*, il est alors un *culte reçu*: il est de fait *la Religion du public*, sans être de droit, *la Religion nationale*, car une Religion n'est pas adoptée par la Nation, en tant qu'elle est une *puissance*, mais en tant qu'elle est une *collection* d'hommes.

Dans cet état du culte, son exercice n'ayant aucune correspondance avec l'ordre civil, il en résulte plusieurs conséquences.

Premièrement. L'autorité ecclésiastique peut partager entre les pasteurs, la conduite spirituelle des fidèles, suivant telles divisions ou démarcations que lui prescrivent son intérêt et sa sagesse; et le gouvernement, qui n'est lié par aucun point au régime religieux, n'a rien à voir, ni à réformer dans des circonscriptions qui n'ont pas de visibilité politique.

Secondement. Dans cette situation du culte, qui fut si long-tems la seule que l'ancien sacerdoce ait demandée aux puissances de la terre, la subsistance des ministres, la construction et l'entretien

des temples, et toutes les dépenses du cérémonial religieux, sont une charge étrangère au fisc ; car ce qui n'appartient pas à l'institution politique, ne peut être du ressort de la dépense publique.

Troisièmement. Mais du moment que l'institution chrétienne, adoptée par la majorité des citoyens de l'Empire, a été allouée par la puissance nationale; du moment que cette même puissance, prenant sur elle toutes les charges de l'État temporel de la Religion, et pourvoyant à tous les besoins du culte de ses ministres, a garanti sur la foi de la Nation et sur les fonds de son trésor, la perpétuité et l'immutabilité de l'acceptation qu'elle a faite du christianisme, dès-lors cette Religion a reçu dans l'État une existence civile et légale, qui est le plus grand honneur qu'une Nation puisse rendre à la sainteté et à la majesté de l'Évangile, et dès-lors aussi c'est à cette puissance nationale qui a donné à l'institution religieuse une existence civile, qu'appartient la faculté d'en déterminer l'organisation civile, et de lui assigner sa constitution extérieure et légale. Elle peut et elle doit s'emparer de la Religion, selon le caractère public qu'elle lui a imprimé, et par tous les points où elle l'a établie en correspondance avec l'institution sociale. Elle peut et elle doit s'attribuer l'ordonnance du culte dans tout ce qu'elle lui a fait acquérir d'extérieur, dans toute l'ampleur physique qu'elle lui a fait contracter, dans tous les rapports où elle l'a mis avec la grande

machine de l'Etat; enfin, dans tout ce qui n'est pas de sa constitution spirituelle, intime et primitive. C'est donc au gouvernement à régler les démarcations diocésaines, puisqu'elles sont le plus grand caractère public de la Religion, et la manifestation de son existence légale. Comment le ministère sacerdotal ne seroit-il pas subordonné, dans le partage des fonctions du culte, à la même autorité qui prescrit les limites de toutes les autres fonctions publiques, et qui détermine toutes les circonscriptions de l'Empire?

Eh! que l'on nous dise ce que signifie l'intervention de l'autorité spirituelle dans une distribution toute politique. Une nation qui, recevant dans son sein,et unissant à son régime la Religion chrétienne, dispose tellement le système de toutes ses administrations, que partout où elle trouve des hommes à gouverner, là aussi elle prépose un premier pasteur à leur enseignement religieux; une telle nation s'attribue-t-elle un pouvoir sacerdotal? Entreprend-t-elle quelque chose sur les consciences, sur les dogmes de la Foi, sur ses sacremens, sur ses rapports et ses dépendances hiérarchiques?

Mais, nous dit-on, la juridiction spirituelle des Evêques a changé avec l'ancienne division des diocèses, et il faut bien que le Pontife de Rome intervienne pour accorder aux Evêques des pouvoirs accommodés à la nouvelle constitution. Que ceux d'entre nos pasteurs qui ont le cœur droit et l'esprit capable d'observation, s'élèvent au

dessus des idées et des traditions d'une théologie inventée pour défigurer la Religion, et la subordonner aux vues ambitieuses de quelques hommes, et ils reconnoîtront que le fondateur du christianisme semble avoir constitué son sacerdoce d'après la prévoyance de sa destinée future; c'est-à-dire, qu'il l'a fait tel qu'il pût se prêter à toutes les formes civiles des Etats où l'institution chrétienne seroit adoptée, et s'exercer dans toutes les directions et selon toutes les circonscriptions qui lui seroient assignées par les loix des Empires.

Est-ce en donnant à chacun d'eux une portion de puissance limitée par des bornes territoriales que J. C. a institué les Apôtres? Non; c'est en conférant à chacun d'eux la plénitude de la puissance spirituelle, ensorte qu'un seul, possédant la juridiction de tous, soit établi le pasteur du genre humain. " Allez, leur dit-il; répandez-vous „ dans l'Univers; prêchez l'Évangile à toute créa„ ture..... Je vous envoie comme mon Père „ m'a envoyé. "

Si donc, au moment de leur mission, les Apôtres se fussent partagé l'enseignement de l'univers, et qu'ensuite les puissances fussent venues changer les circonscriptions qu'ils s'étoient volontairement assignées, aucun d'eux se seroit-il inquiété que sa juridiction ne se trouvât pas la même? Croit-on qu'ils eussent reproché à l'autorité publique de s'attribuer le droit de restreindre ou d'é-

tendre l'autorité spirituelle ? Pense-t on sur-tout qu'ils eussent invoqué l'intervention de St. Pierre pour se faire réintégrer dans les fonctions de l'Apostolat par une mission nouvelle ?

Et pourquoi auroient-ils recours à ce premier chef de l'Église universelle ? Sa primauté ne consistoit pas dans la possession d'une plus grande puissance spirituelle, ni dans une juridiction plus éminente et plus étendue. Il n'avoit pas reçu de mission particulière ; il n'avoit pas été établi le pasteur des hommes par une inauguration spéciale et séparée de celle des autres Apôtres. St. Pierre étoit pasteur en vertu des mêmes paroles qui donnèrent à tous ses collègues l'Univers à instruire, et le genre humain à sanctifier. Aussi voyons-nous St. Paul et les autres Apôtres établir des Évêques et des Prêtres, dans les différentes contrées où ils ont porté le flambeau de l'Evangile, et les instituer pasteurs des troupeaux qu'ils ont conquis au christianisme dès son origine, et nous ne voyons nulle part qu'ils aient invoqué, pour remplir cet objet sacré, l'autorité de St. Pierre, ni que les nouveaux pasteurs aient attendu de lui l'institution canonique.

Quelle idée les Pontifes de notre culte ont-ils donc de leur mission, puisqu'ils n'y reconnoissent plus le même caractère dont les Apôtres furent revêtus ? S'il est vrai que le sacerdoce chrétien n'a été institué qu'une fois pour tous les siècles, la puissance apostolique ne subsiste-t-elle pas au-

jourd'hui dans les Evêques comme successeurs des Apôtres à l'universalité de sa primitive institution ? Chacun d'eux au moment de sa consécration n'est-il pas devenu ce que fut chaque Apôtre au moment où il reçut la sienne aux pieds du Pasteur éternel de l'Eglise ? Et n'est-il pas envoyé comme J. C. l'a été par son Père ? Enfin, n'at-il pas été investi d'une aptitude applicable à tous les lieux, à tous les hommes, et toujours subsistante, sans nulle altération, au milieu de tous les changemens, de tous les accroissemens et de toutes les variations que peuvent éprouver la démarcation des Eglises ?

Veillez votre conduite, dit St. Paul aux Evêques qu'il avoit établis en Asie, *veillez votre conduite et celle du troupeau pour lequel le St. Esprit vous a consacrés Evêques, en vous donnant le gouvernement de l'Eglise de Dieu, que J. C. a fondée par son sang.* Pesez ces paroles, et demandez-vous si St. Paul croyoit à la *localité* de la juridiction épiscopale.

Les Evêques sont donc essentiellement chargés du régime de l'Eglise universelle, comme l'étoient les Apôtres : leur mission est actuelle, immédiate, et absolument indépendante de toute circonscription locale. L'onction de l'épiscopat suffit aussi à leur institution, et ils n'ont pas plus besoin de la sanction du Pontife de Rome que S. Paul n'eut besoin de celle de S. Pierre. Le Pontife de Rome n'est comme S. Pierre le fut

lui même, que le pasteur indiqué pour être le point de réunion de tous les pasteurs, l'interpellateur des juges de la Foi, le dépositaire de la croyance de toutes les Eglises, le conservateur de la communion universelle, et le surveillant de tout le régime intérieur et spirituel de la Religion.

Or, tous ces rapports n'établissent aucune distinction ni aucune dépendance réellement hiérarchique entre lui et les Evêques des autres Eglises; et ceux-ci ne lui doivent en montant sur le siége, que l'attestation de leur union au centre de la Foi universelle, de leur volonté d'être pasteurs dans l'esprit et dans le sens de la croyance catholique, et de correspondre au saint siége comme au principal tronc de l'autorité que J. C. a donnée à son Eglise.

On ne connut jamais dans l'antiquité ecclésiastique d'autres formes pour l'installation des Pontifes: *je professe,* écrivoit autrefois un Evêque au Pape S. Damase, que *je suis uni de communion à votre Sainteté, c'est-à-dire, à la Chaire de S. Pierre. Je sais que l'Eglise a été bâtie sur cette pierre. Celui qui mange la Pâque hors de cette maison, est un profane ; qui n'amasse pas avec vous, est un dissipateur.* Voilà la détermination précise du rapport que J. C. a établi entre S. Pierre et les autres Apôtres, et la seule règle de la correspondance à maintenir entre Rome et toutes les Eglises de la catholicité ; et c'est aussi la seule dont l'Assemblée Nationale ait recommandé l'obser-

vation aux premiers pasteurs de l'Eglise de France.

C'est en recourant à cette source antique et incorruptible de la vraie science ecclésiastique, que les bons esprits se convaincront aussi que les Evêques métropolitains reçoivent, par la seule *occupation* du siége désigné pour métropole, tous les pouvoirs nécessaires pour exercer leurs fonctions. C'est sur-tout en France une vérité de principe, que la puissance épiscopale n'a d'autres limites, que celles que des considérations d'ordre et de police ont forcé de prescrire; c'est-à-dire, des bornes purement territoriales. Les métropoles ne sont-elles-mêmes que des établissemens de police. L'épiscopat du métropolitain n'est pas différent de celui de ses Evêques suffragans. Sa supériorité sur eux, il ne la tient pas d'une mission particulière, mais seulement de la ville où son siége est établi. Cette espèce d'hiérarchie sacerdotale, etoit toute calquée sur la hiérarchie civile; et les empereurs désignoient à leur gré, le siége de ces établissemens.

Nous accusera-t-on d'avoir encore rétréci la puissance épiscopale, d'avoir élevé le simple sacerdoce au niveau de l'Episcopat? Ne semble-t-il pas plutôt que notre premier objet dans les dispositions que nous avons statuées sur son régime, ait été de lui rendre cette immensité qu'il eut dans son origine, et de détruire toutes ces limites où un ancien et épais nuage de préjugés

et d'erreurs en avoit concentré l'exercice? A moins que ce n'eût été rompre la gradation hiérarchique qui distingue les premiers pasteurs inférieurs, que de donner à l'Evêque de chaque Eglise un conseil, et de régler qu'il ne pourroit faire aucun acte d'autorité *en ce qui concerne le gouvernement du diocèse* qu'après en avoir délibéré avec le presbytère diocésain: comme si cette supériorité que le pontife possède *de droit divin* sur son clergé l'affranchissoit du devoir imposé *de droit naturel* à tous les hommes chargés d'un soin vaste et difficile, d'invoquer le secours et de consulter les lumières de l'expérience, de la maturité et de la sagesse: comme si dans ce point, de même que dans tous les autres, l'Assemblée Nationale n'avoit pas rétabli les usages de l'ancienne Eglise. *Tout s'y faisoit par conseil*, dit FLEURY, *parce qu'on ne cherchoit qu'à y faire régner la raison, la règle, la volonté de Dieu..... En chaque Eglise, l'Evêque ne faisoit rien d'important sans le conseil des prêtres de son diocèse et des principaux de son clergé. Souvent même il consultoit tout le peuple, quand il avoit intérêt à l'affaire comme aux ordinations.*

Mais la même puissance qui possède exclusivement la législation nationale a-telle pu et dû faire disparoître l'ancienne forme de la nomination des pasteurs, et la soumettre à l'élection des peuples ?

Oui, certes, elle a eu ce droit; si l'attribution

d'une fonction appartient essentiellement à ceux qui en sont l'objet et la fin; et le sacerdoce français lui doit aussi à cet égard l'exemple du respect et de l'obéissance. C'est pour les hommes qu'il existe une Religion et un sacerdoce, et non pour la divinité qui n'en a pas besoin. *Tout Pontife*, dit S. Paul, *choisi du milieu des hommes, est établi pour le service des hommes; il doit être tel qu'il sache compatir à l'ignorance, se plier à la foiblesse, et éclairer l'erreur.*

Et non seulement l'Apôtre proclame ici le droit du peuple aux élections ecclésiastiques, comme dérivant de la nature des choses, mais il l'appuie par des considérations particulières d'ordre et de circonstance. Le service sacerdotal est un ministère d'humanité, de condescendance, de zèle et de charité; c'est pourquoi St. Paul recommande de ne confier qu'à des hommes doués d'une ame vraiment paternelle et sensible, qu'à des hommes dès long-tems exercés aux bonnes actions, et connus publiquement par leurs inclinations pacifiques et leurs habitudes bienfaisantes; c'est pourquoi aussi il indique pour juges de leur aptitude aux fonctions de Pontife et de pasteur du peuple, ceux qui ont été les spectateurs de leur conduite et les objets de leurs soins.

Cependant, parce que l'Assemblée Nationale de France, chargée de proclamer les droits sacrés du peuple, l'a rappellé aux élections ecclésiastiques, parce qu'elle a rétabli l'antique forme de

ces élections, et tiré de sa désuétude un procédé qui fut une source de gloire pour la Religion, aux beaux jours de sa nouveauté, voilà que des ministres de la Religion crient à l'usurpation, au scandale, à l'impiété; réprouvent comme un attentat à la plus imprescriptible autorité du Clergé, le droit d'élection restitué au peuple, et osent réclamer le concours prétendu nécessaire du Pontife de Rome.

Lorsqu'autrefois un Pape immoral et un despote violent fabriquèrent, à l'insu de l'Église et de l'Empire, ce contrat profane et scandaleux, ce concordat qui n'étoit que la coalition de deux usurpateurs, pour se partager les droits et l'or des Français, on vit la Nation et son Clergé opposer à ce brigandage tout l'éclat d'une résistance unanime, redemander les élections, et revendiquer avec une énergie persévérante *la pragmatique*, qui seule avoit fait jusqu'alors le droit commun du Royaume.

Et c'est ce concordat irréligieux, cette convention simoniaque qui, au tems où elle se fit, attira sur elle tous les anathêmes du sacerdoce français; c'est cette stipulation criminelle de l'ambition et de l'avarice, ce pacte ignominieux qui imprimoit, depuis des siècles, aux plus saintes fonctions la tache honteuse de la vénalité, qu'aujourd'hui nos prélats ont l'impudeur de réclamer au nom de la Religion, à la face de l'univers, à côté du berceau

de la liberté, dans le sanctuaire des loix régénératrices de l'Empire et de l'Autel.

Mais, dit-on, le choix des pasteurs confié à la disposition du peuple ne sera plus que le produit de la cabale.

Parmi les plus implacables détracteurs du rétablissement des élections, combien en est-il à qui nous pourrions faire cette terrible réponse? " Est-ce à vous à emprunter l'accent de la piété pour condamner une loi qui vous assigne des successeurs dignes de l'estime et de la vénération de ce peuple qui n'a cessé de conjurer le ciel d'accorder à ses enfans un pasteur qui les console et les édifie? Est-ce à vous d'invoquer la Religion contre la stabilité d'une constitution qui doit en être l'inébranlable appui; vous qui ne pourriez soutenir un seul instant la vue de ce que vous êtes, si, tout à coup l'austère vérité venoit à manifester au grand jour les ténébreuses et lâches intrigues qui ont déterminé votre élévation à l'Espiscopat, vous qui êtes les créatures de la plus perverse administration, vous qui êtes le fruit de cette iniquité effrayante, qui appelloit aux premiers emplois du sacerdoce ceux qui croupissoient dans l'oisiveté et l'ignorance, et qui fermoit impitoyablement les portes du sanctuaire à la portion sage et laborieuse de l'ordre écclésiastique?

Comment ces hommes qui font ostentation d'un si grand zèle pour assurer aux Eglises un choix de pasteurs dignes d'un nom si saint, com-

ment ont-ils donc pu se taire si long-tems, lorsqu'ils voyoient le sort de la Religion, et le partage des augustes fonctions de l'Apostolat abandonnés à la gestion d'un ministre esclave des intrigues qui environnoient le trône? Les occasions de s'élever contre un sacrilège trafic, se présentoient au Clergé à des époques régulièrement renaissantes: que faisoit-il dans ses assemblées? Au lieu de chercher un remède à la déplorable destinée de la Religion, et d'éclairer la sagesse d'un prince religieux et juste, sur l'impiété qui laissoit le soin de pourvoir de pasteurs l'Eglise de France aux impitoyables oppresseurs qui se jouoient de la détresse et des larmes du peuple, il portoit puérilement aux pieds du Monarque un vain et lâche tribut d'adulation, et des contributions dont il imposoit la charge à la classe pauvre, assidue et résidente des ouvriers évangéliques.

Et qui ne voit que demander une autre forme de nomination aux offices ecclésiastiques, c'eût été dans nos prélats, condamner trop ouvertement leur création anti-canonique, et s'avouer à la face de la Nation pour des *intrus* qu'il falloit destituer ou remplacer.

Que si, n'osant régénérer d'une manière absolue le rétablissement de la forme élective pour les offices ecclésiastiques, les Prélats nous répètent encore que le mode décrété par le Corps législatif, est *contraire aux formes anciennes* qui toujours accordèrent au sacerdoce les honneurs

de la prépondérance, nous leur demanderons s'ils ont trouvé cette influence fondée sur une loi précise de la constitution évangélique, et si elle étoit un effet des règles sur lesquelles J. C. a organisé le régime de la Religion, nous leur demanderons quelles furent les premières élections qui suivirent immédiatement la fondation du Christianisme. La multitude des disciples choisit sur l'invitation des Apôtres, sept hommes pleins du S. Esprit et de sagesse, pour les aider dans les soins de l'Apostolat. Ces hommes reçurent des Apôtres l'imposition des mains, et ils furent les premiers Diacres.

Et de nos jours, quand et comment le Clergé intervenoit-il donc dans le travail de la distribution des places diocèsaines et paroissiales? Il y avoit des siéges pontificaux à remplir, et le Roi les donnoit. Il y avoit des titres de riches Abbayes à conférer, et la Cour les conféroit. Une très-grande partie des bénéfices-cures étoient à la disposition des patrons ou collateurs laïcs, et ces laïcs en disposoient. Un non catholique, un juif, par la simple acquisition de certaines seigneuries, devenoient les arbitres de la destinée de la Religion et de l'état moral d'un grand nombre de Paroisses. Ainsi les grands titres et les grandes places de l'Église se distribuoient sans la participation et même à l'insu du Clergé; et ce qui lui restoit de droit sur les nominations obscures et subalternes,

ne servoit qu'à rendre plus publique et plus sensible sa nullité en administration bénéficiale.

Sans doute, il fut un âge de l'Eglise où le sacerdoce présidoit les assemblées convoquées pour créer des Pasteurs, et le peuple régloit, sur le suffrage du Clergé, la détermination de son choix; mais pourquoi nos Prélats, au lieu de s'arrêter à des tems intermédiaires, où les formes primitives étoient altérées, ne remontent-ils pas jusqu'à ces élections si contiguës au berceau de l'Eglise où chaque ville et chaque hameau avoit son Pontife et où le peuple seul proclamoit et intrônisoit son Pasteur? Car il faut bien remarquer que l'association du Clergé aux assemblées électives date de la diminution des siéges episcopaux, c'est-à-dire, qu'elle a sa cause dans la difficulté d'assembler la multitude de ceux qui appartenoient à une seule Eglise.

A ces mêmes époques où le sacerdoce étoit l'ame des assemblées convoquées pour l'élection des ministres du sanctuaire, les Evêques pauvres et austères portoient tout le fardeau du ministère religieux. Les Prêtres inférieurs n'étoient que leurs assistans. C'étoient les Evêques seuls qui offroient le sacrifice public, qui prêchoient les fidèles, qui catéchisoient les enfans, qui portoient les aumônes de l'Eglise dans les réduits de l'infortune, qui visitoient les asiles publics de la vieillesse, de l'infirmité et de l'indigence, qui parcouroient de leurs pieds meurtris et vénérables,

les vallées profondes et les montagnes escarpées, pour répandre les lumières et les consolations de la Foi dans le sein des innocens, habitans des champs et des bourgades. Voilà des faits précisément parallèles à celui de l'influence des Evêques sur le choix des Pasteurs. Or, voudroit-on transformer ces *faits* en autant de points du *droit* ecclésiastique, et prononcer que la conduite des Prélats, qui n'évangélisent pas leur troupeau, et qui voyagent dans des chars somptueux, est contraire à la constitution essentielle de l'Eglise?

La forme adoptée par l'Assemblée nationale est donc la plus saine, puisqu'elle est la plus conforme aux procédés des tems apostoliques, et que rien n'est si évangélique et si pur que ce qui dérive de la haute antiquité ecclésiastique.

La coupable résistance des Prêtres aux loix de leur pays, l'opiniâtreté de leurs efforts pour faire revivre le double despotisme du sacerdoce et du trône, ont aliéné d'eux la confiance de leurs concitoyens, et ils n'ont pas été appellés de nos jours en grand nombre dans les corps chargés désormais de proclamer les choix du peuple.

Mais le tems arrivera où une autre génération de Pasteurs créés par les citoyens, s'attachant aux loix et à la liberté, comme à la source de son existence et de sa vraie grandeur, regagnera cette haute considération, qui donnoit tant d'autorité au sacerdoce de l'ancienne Eglise, et rendoit sa présence si chère à ces assemblées majestueuses,

où les mains d'un peuple innombrable portoient solennellement la thiare sacrée sur la tête la plus humble et la plus sage.

Alors les défiances inquiètes et les soupçons fâcheux disparoîtront. La confiance, le respect et l'amour du pauvre ouvriront aux Prêtres les portes de ces assemblées comme aux plus respectables conservateurs de l'esprit public et de l'incorruptible patriotisme. On s'honorera de déférer à leurs suffrages; car rien n'est en effet plus honorable pour une Nation, que d'accorder une grande autorité à ceux que son choix n'a pu appeler aux grandes places de la Religion, sans leur reconnoître l'avantage des grands talens et le mérite des grandes vertus. Alors le sacerdoce et l'Empire, la Religion et la patrie, le sanctuaire des mystères sacrés, et le temple de la liberté, des loix, au lieu de se croiser et de se heurter au gré des intérêts qui divisent les hommes, ne composeront plus qu'un seul système de bonheur public, et la France apprendra aux nations, que l'Evangile et la liberté sont les bases inséparables de la vraie législation, et le fondement éternel de l'état le plus parfait du genre humain.

Voilà l'époque glorieuse et salutaire qu'a voulu préparer l'Assemblée nationale, que hâteront de concert avec les loix nouvelles, la lumière et les vertus du sacerdoce, mais que pourroient aussi reculer ses préjugés, ses passions, ses résistances.

Pasteurs et disciples de l'Evangile, qui calomniez les principes des législateurs de votre patrie, savez-vous ce que vous faites ? Vous consolez l'impiété des insurmontables obstacles que la loi avoit opposés aux progrès de son désolant système; et c'est de vous-mêmes que l'ennemi du dogme évangélique attend aujourd'hui l'abolition de tout culte, et l'extinction de tout sentiment religieux. Figurez-vous que les partisans de l'irréligion, calculant les gradations par où le faux zèle de la Foi la conduit à sa perte, prononcent dans leur cercle ce terrible discours.

" Nos représentans avoient reporté sur les bases antiques l'édifice du christianisme, et nos mesures pour le renverser étoient à jamais déconcertées. Mais ce qui devoit donner à la Religion une si grande et si imperturbable existence, devient maintenant le gage de notre triomphe et le signal de la chûte du sacerdoce et de ses temples. Voyez ces Prélats et ces Prêtres qui soufflent dans toutes les contrées du Royaume l'esprit de soulèvement et de fureur; voyez ces protestations perfides où l'on menace de l'enfer ceux qui reçoivent la liberté, et qui refusent de redemander l'esclavage auxquels ils ont échappé. Voyez cette affectation de prêter aux législateurs de l'Empire le caractère atroce des anciens persécuteurs des chrétiens. Voyez le sacerdoce méditant sans cesse des moyens pour s'emparer de la force publique, pour la déployer contre ceux qui l'ont

dépouillé de ses anciennes usurpations, pour remonter sur le trône de son orgueil, pour faire refluer dans ses palais un or qui en étoit le scandale et la honte. Voyez avec quelle ardeur il égare les consciences, alarme la piété des simples, effraie la timité des foibles, et comme il s'attache à faire croire au peuple que la révolution et la Religion ne peuvent subsister ensemble. "

Or, le peuple finira par le croire en effet; et balancé dans l'alternative d'être chrétien ou libre, il prendra le parti qui coûtera le moins à son besoin de respirer de ses anciens malheurs: et alors il abjurera son christianisme; il maudira ses pasteurs; il ne voudra plus connoître ni adorer que le Dieu créateur de la nature et de la liberté; et alors tout ce qui lui retracera le souvenir du Dieu de l'Evangile lui sera odieux; il ne voudra plus sacrifier que sur l'autel de la patrie; il ne verra ses anciens temples que comme des monumens qui ne sauroient plus servir qu'à attester combien il fut long-tems le jouet de l'imposture et la victime du mensonge, il ne pourra donc plus souffrir que le prix de sa sueur et de son sang soient appliqués aux dépenses d'un culte qu'elle rejette, et qu'une portion immense de la ressource publique soit appliquée à un sacerdoce conspirateur. Et voilà comment cette Religion, qui a résisté à toutes les controverses humaines, étoit destinée à s'anéantir dans le tombeau que lui consacroient ses propres ministres.

Ah ! tremblez que cette supputation de l'incrédulité ne se soit fondée sur les plus alarmantes vraisemblances ! Ne diroit-on pas que tous ceux qui se font une étude de décrier comme attentatoire aux droits de la Religion, le procédé que vos représentans ont suivi dans l'organisation du ministère ecclésiastique, ne croiroit-on pas qu'ils ont le même but que l'impiété, qu'ils prévoient le même dénouement, et qu'ils sont résolus à la perte du Christianisme, pourvu qu'ils soient vengés, et qu'ils aient épuisé tous les moyens de recouvrer leur puissance et de nous replonger dans la servitude. C'est-à-dire, que la seule différence qui distingue ici la doctrine irréligieuse de l'aristocratie ecclésiastique ; c'est que la première ne souhaite la ruine de la Religion, que pour rendre plus sûr le triomphe de la constitution et de la liberté, et que la seconde ne tend à la destruction de la Foi que dans l'espoir de la voir entraîner dans sa chûte la liberté et la constitution de l'Empire : l'une n'aspire à voir sa loi s'éteindre parmi nous, qu'en croyant qu'elle est un obstacle à la parfaite liberté des hommes ; l'autre expose la Foi aux plus grands dangers, dans le dessein de vous ravir ce que vous avez reconquis de vos droits, et de jouir encore une fois de votre abaissement et de votre misère. Enfin, l'une ne haït dans la Religion que ce qui paroît y consacrer des principes favorables aux tyrans ; et l'autre la livre volontairement à tous les hazards

d'un choc dont elle attend le retour de la tyrannie, et la renaissance de tous les ordres. Ainsi, l'esprit d'humanité qui se mêle aux entreprises de l'incrédulité contre l'Evangile, en adoucit et en fait, en quelque sorte, pardonner la témérité et l'injustice. Mais comment pourroit être excusé notre sacerdoce du mal qu'il fait à la Religion, pour renfoncer les hommes dans le malheur et recouvrer une puissance dont la privation soulève toutes ses passions et consterne toutes ses habitudes?

O vous, qui êtes de bonne foi avec le Ciel et votre conscience, pasteurs qui n'avez balancé jusqu'à ce jour à sceller de votre serment la nouvelle constitution civile du clergé, que par l'appréhension sincère de vous rendre complices d'une usurpation; rappellez-vous ces tems anciens où la Foi chrétienne, réduite à concentrer toute sa majesté et tous ses trésors dans le silence et les ténèbres des cavernes, tressailloit d'une joie si douce et si pure lorsqu'on venoit annoncer à ses pontifes austères et vénérables le repos du glaive de la persécution, lorsqu'on leur apprenoit la fin d'un règne cruel et l'avènement d'un prince plus humain et plus sage, lorsqu'ils pouvoient sortir avec moins de frayeur des cavités profondes où ils avoient érigé leurs autels pour aller consoler et affermir la piété de leurs humbles disciples, lorsqu'ils pouvoient laisser sortir de dessous terre

quelques éteincelles du flambeau divin dont ils gardoient le précieux dépôt.

Or, supposons que l'un de ces hommes vénérables, sortant tout-à-coup de ces catacombes antiques où sa cendre est confondue avec celles de tant de Martyrs, vienne aujourd'hui contempler au milieu de nous la gloire dont la Religion s'y voit environnée, et qu'il découvre d'un coup-d'œil tous ces temples, ces tours qui portent si haut dans les airs les éclatans attributs du Christianisme, cette croix de l'Evangile qui s'élance du sommet de tous les départemens de ce grand Empire : quel spectacle pour les regards de celui qui en descendant au tombeau n'avoit jamais vu la Religion que dans les antres des forêts et des déserts ! Quels ravissemens, quels transports ! Je crois l'entendre s'écrier, comme autrefois cet étranger, à la vue du camp du peuple de Dieu. *O Israël, que vos tentes sont belles* ! *O Jacob, quel ordre, quelle majesté dans vos pavillons* ! . . . .

Calmez donc, ah ! calmez vos craintes, prêtres, ministres du Dieu de paix et de vérité : rougissez de vos exagérations incendiaires, et ne voyez plus notre ouvrage à travers vos passions. Nous ne vous demanderons pas de jurer contre la loi de votre cœur, mais nous vous demanderons au nom du Dieu saint qui doit nous juger tous, de ne pas confondre des opinions humaines et des traditions scholastiques, avec les règles inviolables et sacrées de l'Evangile. S'il est contraire

à la morale d'agir contre sa conscience, il ne l'est pas moins de se faire une conscience d'après des principes faux et arbitraires. L'obligation de faire sa conscience est antérieure à l'obligation de suivre sa conscience. Les plus grands malheurs publics ont été causés par des hommes qui ont cru obéir à Dieu et sauver leurs ames.

Et vous adorateurs de la Religion et de la patrie, Français, peuple fier, mais généreux, contemplez votre état passé et votre situation à venir. Qu'étoit la France, il y a peu de mois? Les sages y invoquoient la liberté et la liberté étoit sourde à la voix des sages. Les chrétiens éclairés demandoient où s'étoit réfugiée la Religion de leurs pères, et la vraie Religion de l'Evangile ne se retrouvoit nulle part. Nous étions une Nation sans patrie, un peuple sans gouvernement et une Eglise sans caractère et sans régime.....

Il n'y avoit de régulier et de stable parmi nous que la déflagration de tous les vices, que le scandale de toutes les injustices, que le mépris public du Ciel et des hommes, que l'extinction totale des derniers principes de la Religion et de la morale. Quel pays que celui où tout se trouvoit à la disposition absolue de quelques hommes sans frein, sans honneur, et sans lumières, et devant qui Dieu et le genre humain étoient comptés pour rien! Et quelle révolution que celle qui fait succéder tout-à-coup à ce désordre un spectacle où tout se place et s'ordonne selon l'ancien vœu

de la nature, et où l'on ne voit plus dissonner que la fureur impuissante de quelques ames incapables de s'élever à la hauteur d'un sentiment public, et faites pour rester dans la bassesse de leurs passions personnelles !

Français ! vous êtes les conquérans de votre liberté ; vous l'avez reproduite au sein de ce vaste Empire par les grands mouvemens de votre courage ; soyez-en maintenant les conservateurs par votre modération et votre sagesse. Répandez autour de vous l'esprit de patience et de raison, versez les consolations de la fraternité dans le sein de ceux de vos concitoyens à qui la révolution a imposé de douloureux sacrifices ; et n'oubliez jamais que si la régénération des Empires ne peut s'exécuter que par l'explosion de la force du peuple, elle ne peut non plus se maintenir que dans le recueillement des vertus et de la paix. Songez que le repos et le silence d'une nation victorieuse de tant d'efforts et de complots, dirigés contre son bonheur et sa liberté, sont encore la plus redoutable des résistances à la tyrannie qui voudroit tenter de relever ses remparts, et que rien ne déconcerte plus efficacement les desseins des pervers que la tranquillité des grands cœurs.

[N°. 14.]

Extrait d'une Lettre de Mgr. l'Evêque d'Uzès à ses grands vicaires.

le 5 Janvier 1791.

Le jour d'hier sera fameux dans les fastes du Clergé de France. C'est le premier où j'aie reçu quelque consolation. si nous avions combattu pour la gloire nous pourrions dire que nous n'avons rien à désirer ; mais un intérêt d'une bien autre nature étoit confié à notre courage. Je ne suis pas sans espoir que cette journée ne sauve la Religion en France ; mais je suis sûr au moins qu'elle l'a glorifiée.

L'heure fatale étoit arrivée, l'expiration du délai nous a été annoncée, on a déliberé de nous interpeller, les uns après les autres, pour prêter le serment ; la fermeté la plus calme étoit notre contenance. L'Evêque d'Agen, appellé le premier, a dit quelques phrases d'une noblesse simple, franche, touchante, qui ont produit le plus grand effet. Un de ses Curés appellé après lui, a fait aussi une de ces réponses qui enfoncent la crainte dans l'ame des pervers et la honte dans celle des foibles. Alors l'effroi à gagné nos ennemis ; la confusion s'est mise au milieu d'eux ; ils ne savoient

quel parti prendre ; ils essayèrent de plates et ridicules séductions, en annonçant que l'intention de l'Assemblée n'avoit pas été de toucher au spirituel. Nous demandons que cette explication soit convertie en décret et la mauvaise foi se démasque par un refus.

Le tumulte et l'indécision de ces Messieurs allongent la séance et aucun ecclésiastique ne montre ni foiblesse ni inquiétude. Alors ils abandonnent la forme d'appel individuel, qui auroit prolongé leur tourment d'être témoins du triomphe de la vérité. Ils ont ordonné une interpellation générale à ceux qui n'avoient pas encore prêté le serment. Elle a été faite et personne ne s'est présenté. Enfin notre immuable fermeté les a forcés à leur grand regret à décréter contre nous ; et nous sommes sortis de cette séance, dépouillés de tout, mais fiers de notre glorieuse pauvreté.

Les deux ou trois cents brigands, employés dans ces occasions majeures, entouroient le dehors de la salle et y faisoient même retentir le cri, *à la lanterne*. Nous y avons souri dédaigneusement et nous avons demandé qu'on ne s'occupât point de ces vaines clameurs ; pas de vrai et bon peuple autour de la salle ; pas le moindre mouvement dans Paris contre nous ; et l'estime publique nous a suivis dans nos retraites.

Le Roi est prié de faire nommer à nos places. Il est à remarquer que ce décret, fait pour in-

troduire le schisme en France, s'il est exécuté, a été rendu sous la présidence d'un Juif et sur la motion d'un Protestant.

Je ne puis vous rendre mille détails qui seroient intéressans, mais le tems me manque. Voilà l'essentiel. Nous avons soutenu la première attaque d'une manière digne du devoir que nous avions à remplir. Nous soutiendrons de même toutes les épreuves, jusqu'à la dernière, la mort, si l'on ose y aller. Ce n'est pas de notre côté qu'est la crainte et l'indécision. Nous les laissons à ceux qui n'écoutent pas leur conscience et qui ne suivent pas les principes.

Nous pleurons sur quatre-vingt dix-huit de nos confrères trompés, ou entraînés, avant cette séance. C'est beaucoup, sur deux cents soixante-huit que nous sommes; mais une grande majorité nous reste. L'Evêque d'Autun est le seul Evêque qui ait prêté le serment. Nous ne comptons pas l'Evêque de Lydda étranger au clergé de France, et qui a mis à son serment des restrictions qu'on a laissé passer, parce qu'il siége du côté gauche.

Montrez ma lettre. Je ne crains jamais quand j'écris, parce que la vérité est mon guide; et il est essentiel qu'elle soit connue, cette fameuse séance.....

† H. DE BETHISY, Evêque d'Usès.

[N° 15.]

Projet de Discours, rédigé par les Ministres, et proposé au Roi, le 19 *Avril* 1791.

Je viens au milieu de vous avec la confiance que je vous ai toujours témoignée, vous parler des plus pressans intérêts de la Nation. Elle a besoin de respirer enfin à l'abri des loix, et de goûter les bienfaits de l'ordre et de la paix. Je viens vous inviter à resserrer plus étroitement que jamais l'union qui doit régner entre nous, et vous recommander le concours de volontés nécessaires à l'établissement de la constitution. Cette constitution, je l'ai acceptée, je l'ai jurée: je la maintiens. Le désordre en est l'ennemi; je dois le réprimer; sans doute vous redoublerez d'efforts pour m'aider dans cette grande entreprise. Les comptes qui me sont rendus chaque jour dans mon conseil, m'avertissent qu'il n'y a plus un moment à perdre: ce que j'ai vu hier ne m'a pas permis d'en douter. Ceux qui essaient de soulever un peuple fidèle, et dont j'ai mérité l'amour par ce que j'ai fait pour lui, cherchent à lui inspirer des doutes sur mes sentimens pour la révolution. Ma conduite toute entière dément assez leurs impostures, et je ne dévierai pas du chemin que je me suis tracé. Je respecte trop la constitution et la déclaration des droits qui en sont la base,

base, pour m'expliquer ici sur mes opinions religieuses. Nul citoyen n'en doit compte à personne, et j'ai la même liberté que les autres citoyens. Mais mon devoir est de maintenir la constitution dans tous ses points; et la constitution civile du Clergé en est une partie. Je remplirai exactement ce devoir, comme tous ceux que m'impose la royauté. Il est au nombre de ces devoirs de prouver à toute la Nation que je suis libre, et de ne pas laisser subsister à cet égard l'ombre du doute; rien n'est si important à la validité des sanctions et des acceptations que je donne aux décrets. C'est donc pour rendre ma liberté manifeste à tous les yeux que je ne crois pas devoir céder à la résistance qu'on a apportée hier à mon départ pour Saint-Cloud. Je n'ai pas voulu qu'on la vainquit par la force, parce que j'ai craint de provoquer des actes de rigueur contre une multitude trompée, et qui croit agir en faveur des loix, lorsqu'elle les enfreint toutes. Je persiste donc dans mon projet de voyage pour Saint-Cloud. Si l'on s'y opposoit encore, si les fonctionnaires publics ne parvenoient à vaincre cette opposition, je suis bien sûr que l'Assemblée nationale ne souffriroit pas sous ses yeux une atteinte à ma liberté et une infraction à la constitution.

J'ai voulu vous entretenir de mes intentions et de mes sentimens. Tous mes vœux sont, comme les vôtres, pour le bonheur du peuple, et

ce bonheur ne peut résulter que de l'observation des loix et de l'obéissance à toutes les autorités légitimes et constitutionnelles.

[N°. 16.]

Lettre adressée par M. DE MONTMORIN *à tous les Ambassadeurs.*

Le Roi me charge, Monsieur, de vous mander que son intention la plus formelle est que vous manifestiez ses sentimens sur la Révolution et sur la Constitution française, à la Cour où vous résidez. Les Ambassadeurs et Ministres de France près toutes les Cours de l'Europe, reçoivent les mêmes ordres, afin qu'il ne reste aucun doute ni sur les intentions de Sa Majesté, ni sur l'acceptation libre qu'elle a donnée à la nouvelle forme de gouvernement, ni sur son serment irrévocable de la maintenir. Sa Majesté avoit convoqué les Etats-Généraux de son Royaume, et déterminé dans son Conseil que les Communes y auroient un nombre de députés égal à celui des deux autres ordres qui existoient alors. Cet acte de législation provisoire, que les obstacles du moment ne permettoient pas de rendre plus favorable, annonçoit assez le desir de Sa Majesté de rétablir la Nation dans tous ses droits.

Les Etats-Généraux furent assemblés, et prirent le titre d'Assemblée nationale; bientôt une constitution, propre à faire le bonheur de la France et du Monarque, remplaça l'ancien ordre de choses où la force apparente de la Royauté ne cachoit que la force réelle des abus de quelques Corps aristocratiques.

L'Assemblée nationale adopta la forme du gouvernement représentatif, joint à la Royauté héréditaire; le Corps législatif fut déclaré permanent; l'élection des ministres du culte, des administrateurs et des juges fut rendue au peuple; on conféra le pouvoir exécutif au Roi, la formation de la loi au Corps législatif, et la sanction au Monarque; la force publique, soit intérieure, soit extérieure, fut organisée sur les mêmes principes, et d'après la base fondamentale de la distinction des pouvoirs, telle est la nouvelle constitution du Royaume.

Ce que l'on appelle la Révolution, n'est que l'anéantissement d'une foule d'abus accumulés depuis des siècles par l'erreur du peuple, ou le pouvoir des ministres, qui n'a jamais été le pouvoir des Rois; ces abus n'étoient pas moins funestes à la Nation qu'au Monarque; ces abus, l'autorité, sous des règnes heureux, n'avoit cessé de les attaquer sans pouvoir les détruire, ils n'existent plus. La Nation souveraine n'a plus que des citoyens égaux en droits, plus de despote que la loi, plus d'organes que des fonctionnaires publics,

et le Roi est le premier de ces fonctionnaires : telle est la Révolution française.

Elle devoit avoir pour ennemis tous ceux qui, dans un premier moment d'erreur, ont regretté, pour des avantages personnels, les abus de l'ancien gouvernement ; de là, l'apparente division qui s'est manifestée dans le Royaume, et qui s'affoiblit chaque jour ; de là, peut-être, quelques loix sévères et de circonstances que le tems corrigera ; mais le Roi, dont la véritable force est indivisible de celle la Nation, qui n'a d'autre ambition que le bonheur du peuple, ni d'autre pouvoir réel que celui qui lui est délégué ; le Roi a dû adopter, sans hésiter, une heureuse constitution qui régénéroit tout à la fois son autorité, la Nation et la Monarchie. On lui a conservé toute sa puissance, hors le pouvoir redoutable de faire des loix ; il est resté chargé des négociations avec les puissances étrangères, du soin de défendre le Royaume, et d'en repousser les ennemis ; mais la Nation française n'en aura plus désormais au dehors, que ses aggresseurs : elle n'a plus d'ennemis intérieurs, que ceux qui, se nourrissant encore de folles espérances, croiroient que la volonté de vingt-quatre millions d'hommes rentrés dans leurs droits naturels, après avoir organisé le Royaume de manière qu'il n'existe plus que des souvenirs des anciennes formes et des anciens abus, n'est pas une immuable, une irrévocable constitution.

Les plus dangereux de ces ennemis sont ceux qui ont affecté de répandre des doutes sur les intentions du Monarque ; ces hommes sont bien coupables ou bien aveuglés ; ils se croient les amis du Roi, ce sont les seuls ennemis de la Royauté ; ils auroient privé le Monarque de l'amour et de la confiance d'une grande Nation, si ses principes et sa probité eussent été moins connus. Eh ! que n'a pas fait le Roi, pour montrer qu'il comptoit aussi la Révolution et la Constitution française parmi ses titres à la gloire ! Après avoir accepté et sanctionné toutes les loix, il n'a négligé aucun moyen de les faire exécuter ; dès le mois de Février de l'année dernière, il avoit, dans le sein de l'Assemblée nationale, promis de les maintenir ; il en a fait le serment au milieu de la fédération universelle du Royaume : honoré du titre de restaurateur de la Liberté française, il transmettra plus qu'une couronne à son fils, il lui transmettra une Royauté constitutionnelle.

Les ennemis de la constitution ne cessent de répéter que le Roi n'est pas heureux, comme s'il pouvoit exister pour un Roi d'autre bonheur que celui du peuple ; ils disent que son autorité est avilie, comme si l'autorité, fondée sur la force, n'étoit pas moins puissante et plus incertaine que l'autorité de la loi ; enfin que le Roi n'est pas libre, calomnie atroce, si l'on suppose que sa volonté a pu être forcée ; absurde, si l'on prend pour défaut de liberté le consentement que Sa

Majesté a exprimé plusieurs fois de rester au milieu des citoyens de Paris : consentement qu'elle devoit accorder à leur patriotisme, même à leurs craintes, et sur-tout à leur amour.

Ces calomnies cependant ont pénétré jusques dans les Cours étrangères ; elles y ont été répetées par des Français, qui se sont volontairement exilés de leur patrie, au lieu d'en partager la gloire, et qui, s'ils n'en sont pas les ennemis, ont au moins abandonné leur poste de citoyen. Le Roi vous charge, Monsieur, de déjouer leurs intrigues et leurs projets. Ces mêmes calomnies, en répandant les idées les plus fausses sur la révolution française, ont fait suspecter chez plusieurs nations voisines les intentions des voyageurs français ; et le Roi vous recommande expressément de les protéger et de les défendre. Donnez, Monsieur, de la constitution française, l'idée que le Roi s'en forme lui-même ; ne laissez aucun doute sur l'intention de Sa Majesté de la maintenir de tout son pouvoir. En assurant la liberté et l'égalité des citoyens, cette constitution fonde la prospérité nationale sur les bases les plus inébranlables ; elle affermit l'autorité royale par les loix ; elle prévient, par une révolution glorieuse, la révolution que les abus de l'ancien gouvernement auroient bientôt fait éclater, en causant, peut-être, la dissolution de l'Empire ; elle fera le bonheur du Roi. Le soin de la justifier, de la

défendre et de la prendre pour règle de votre conduite doit être votre premier devoir.

Je vous ai déjà manifesté plusieurs fois les sentimems de Sa Majesté à cet égard; mais, d'après ce qui lui est revenu de l'opinion qu'on cherchoit à établir dans les pays étrangers, sur ce qui se passe en France, elle m'a ordonné de vous charger de notifier le contenu de cette lettre à la Cour où vous êtes; et, pour lui donner plus de publicité, Sa Majesté vient d'en ordonner l'impression.

Signé, MONTMORIN.

Le 23 Avril 1791.

[N°. 17.]

MÉMOIRE DU ROI,

Ou Déclaration de Sa Majesté, adressée à tous les Français à sa sortie de Paris.

TANT que le Roi a pu espérer de voir renaître l'ordre et le bonheur dans le Royaume, par les moyens employés par l'Assemblée nationale, dans la Capitale, aucun sacrifice personnel ne lui

a coûté ; il n'auroit pas même argué de la nullité dont le défaut absolu de liberté entache toutes les démarches qu'il a faites depuis le mois d'Octobre 1789, si cet espoir eût été rempli : mais aujourd'hui que la seule récompense de tant de sacrifices est de voir la destruction de la royauté, de voir tous les pouvoirs méconnus, les propriétés violées, la sûreté des personnes mise par-tout en danger, les crimes rester impunis, et une anarchie complète s'établir au-dessus des loix, sans que l'apparence d'autorité que lui donne la nouvelle constitution, soit suffisante pour réparer un seul des maux qui affligent le royaume : le Roi, après avoir solennellement protesté contre tous les actes émanés de lui pendant sa captivité, croit devoir mettre sous les yeux des Français et de tout l'univers, le tableau de sa conduite, et celui du gouvernement qui s'est établi dans le Royaume.

" On a vu Sa Majesté, au mois de Juillet 1789, pour écarter tout sujet de défiance, renvoyer les troupes qu'elle n'avoit appellées auprès de sa personne, qu'après que les étincelles de révolte s'étoient déjà manifestées dans Paris et dans le régiment même de ses gardes. Le Roi, sûr de sa conscience et de la droiture de ses intentions, n'a pas craint de venir seul parmi les citoyens armés de la capitale.

" Au mois d'Octobre de la même année, le Roi, prévenu depuis long-tems des mouvemens que les factieux cherchoient à exciter, fut, dans

la journée du 5, averti assez à tems pour pouvoir se retirer ou il eût voulu ; mais il craignit qu'on ne se servît de cette démarche pour allumer la guerre civile : et il aima mieux se sacrifier personnellement, et ce qui étoit plus déchirant pour son cœur, mettre en danger la vie des personnes qui lui sont les plus chères. Tout le monde sait les évènemens de la nuit du 5 Octobre et l'impunité qui les couvre depuis près de deux ans: Dieu seul a empêché l'exécution des plus grands crimes, et a détourné de la Nation française une tache qui auroit été ineffaçable.

" Le Roi, cédant au vœu manifesté par l'armée des Parisiens, vint s'établir, avec sa famille, au château des Thuileries. Il y avoit plus de cent ans que les rois n'y avoient fait de résidence habituelle, excepté pendant la minorité de Louis XV. Rien n'étoit prêt pour recevoir le Roi, et la disposition des appartemens étoit bien loin de procurer les commodités auxquelles Sa Majesté étoit accoutumée dans les autres maisons royales, et dont tout particulier qui a de l'aisance peut jouir. Malgré la contrainte qui avoit été apportée, et les incommodités de tout genre qui suivirent le changement du séjour du Roi, fidèle au systême de sacrifices que Sa Majesté s'étoit fait pour procurer la tranquillité publique, elle crut, dès le lendemain de son arrivée à Paris, devoir rassurer les provinces sur son séjour dans la capitale, et inviter l'Assemblée nationale à se rap-

procher de lui, en venant continuer ses travaux dans la même ville.

" Mais un sacrifice plus pénible étoit réservé au cœur de Sa Majesté ; il fallut qu'on éloignât d'elle ses gardes-du-corps, de la fidélité desquels elle venoit d'avoir une preuve bien éclatante dans la matinée du 6. Deux avoient péri victimes de leur attachement pour le Roi et pour sa famille, et plusieurs encore avoient été blessés grièvement, en exécutant strictement les ordres du Roi, qui leur avoit défendu de tirer sur la multitude égarée. L'art des factieux a été bien grand pour faire envisager sous des couleurs si noires une troupe aussi fidelle, et qui venoit de mettre le comble à la bonne conduite qu'elle avoit toujours tenue. Mais ce n'étoit pas tant contre les gardes-du-corps que leurs intentions étoient dirigées, que contre le Roi lui-même ; on vouloit l'isoler entièrement, en le privant du service de ses gardes-du-corps, dont on avoit pas pu égarer les esprits, comme on avoit réussi auprès de ceux du régiment des Gardes-Françaises, qui, peu de tems auparavant, étoit le modèle de l'armée.

" C'est aux soldats de ce même régiment, devenus troupes soldées par la ville de Paris, et aux gardes nationaux de cette même ville, que la garde du Roi a été confiée. Ces troupes sont entièrement sous les ordres de la municipalité de Paris, dont le commandant général relève ; le

Roi, gardé ainsi, s'est vu par-là, prisonnier dans ses propres états ; car, comment peut-on appeller autrement l'état d'un Roi qui ne commande que pour les choses de parade, à sa garde ; qui ne nomme à aucune des places, et qui est obligé de se voir entouré de plusieurs personnes dont il connoît les mauvaises intentions pour lui et pour sa famille ? Ce n'est pas pour inculper la garde nationale parisienne et les troupes du centre, que le Roi relève ces faits, c'est pour faire connoître l'exacte vérité ; et en la faisant connoître, il a rendu justice au zèle pour le bon ordre, et à l'attachement pour sa personne qu'en général cette troupe lui a montrés; lorsque les esprits ont été laissés à eux-mêmes, et qu'ils n'ont pas été égarés par les clameurs et les mensonges des factieux.

" Mais plus le Roi a fait de sacrifices pour le bonheur de ses peuples, plus les factieux ont travaillé pour en faire méconnoître le prix, et présenter la royauté sous les couleurs les plus fausses et les plus odieuses.

" La convocation des États-Généraux, le doublement des députés du Tiers-état, les peines que le Roi a prises pour applanir toutes les difficultés qui pouvoient retarder l'Assemblée des Etats-Généraux, et celles qui s'étoient élevées depuis leur ouverture, tous les retranchemens que le Roi avoit faits sur sa dépense personnelle, tous les sacrifices qu'il a faits à ses peuples dans

la séance du 23 Juin ; enfin la réunion des ordres, opérée par la manifestation du vœu du Roi, mesure que Sa Majesté jugea alors indispensable pour l'activité des Etats-Généraux ; tous ses soins, toutes ses peines, toute sa générosité, tout son dévouement pour son peuple, tout a été méconnu, tout a été dénaturé.

" Lorsque les États-Généraux s'étant donné le nom d'Assemblée nationale, ont commencé à s'occuper de la constitution du royaume, qu'on se rappelle les mémoires que les factieux ont eu l'adresse de faire venir de plusieurs provinces, et les mouvemens de Paris pour faire manquer les députés à une des clauses portées dans tous les cahiers, qui portoient que *la confection des loix se feroit de concert avec le Roi.* Au mépris de cette clause, l'Assemblée a mis le Roi tout-à-fait hors de la constitution, en lui refusant le droit d'accorder ou de refuser sa sanction aux articles qu'elle regarde comme constitutionnels, en se réservant le droit de ranger dans cette classe ceux qu'elle juge à propos, et en restreignant sur ceux réputés purement législatifs, la prérogative royale à un droit de suspension jusqu'à la troisième législature, droit purement illusoire, comme tant d'exemples ne le prouvent que trop.

" Que reste-t-il au Roi, que le vain simulacre de la royauté ? On lui a donné vingt-cinq millions pour la dépense de sa liste civile ; mais la splendeur de la maison qu'il doit entretenir pour faire

honneur à la dignité de la couronne de France, et les charges qu'on a rejettées dessus, même depuis l'époque où ces fonds ont été réglés, doivent en absorber la totalité.

" On lui a laissé l'usufruit de quelques-uns des domaines de la couronne, avec plusieurs formes gênantes pour leur jouissance. Ces domaines ne sont qu'une petite partie de ceux que les Rois ont possédés de toute ancienneté, et des patrimoines des ancêtres de Sa Majesté qu'ils ont réunis à la couronne. On ne craint pas d'avancer que, si tous ces objets étoient réunis, ils dépasseroient de beaucoup les sommes allouées pour l'entretien du Roi et de sa famille, et qu'alors il n'en coûteroit rien au peuple pour cette partie.

" Une remarque qui coûte à faire au Roi, est l'attention qu'on a eue de séparer dans les arrangemens sur la finance et sur toutes les autres parties, les services rendus au roi personnellement, ou à l'Etat, et que les services rendus à la personne du Roi ne l'étoient pas aussi à l'Etat.

" Qu'on examine ensuite les diverses parties du gouvernement. *La justice;* le Roi n'a aucune participation à la confection des loix ; il a le simple droit d'empêcher jusqu'à la troisième législature, sur les objets qui ne sont pas réputés constitutionnels,et celui de prier l'Assemblée nationale de s'occuper de tels ou tels objets, sans avoir le droit d'en faire la proposition formelle.

La justice se rend au nom du Roi, les provisions des juges sont expédiées par lui ; mais ce n'est qu'une affaire de forme, et le Roi a seulement la nomination des commissaires du Roi, places nouvellement créées, qui n'ont qu'une partie des attributions des anciens procureurs-généraux, et sont seulement destinées à faire maintenir l'exécution des formes ; toute la partie publique est dévolue à un autre officier de justice. Ces places de commissaires sont à vie et non révocables, pendant que l'exercice de celles de juge ne doit durer que six années. Un des décrets de l'Assemblée vient de priver le Roi d'une des plus belles prérogatives attachées par-tout à la royauté, celle de faire grace et de commuer les peines. Quelque parfaites que soient les loix, il est impossible qu'elles prévoient tous les cas, et ce sera alors les jurés qui auront véritablement le droit de faire grace, en appliquant, suivant leur volonté, le sens de la loi. Combien d'ailleurs cette disposition ne diminue-t-elle pas la Majesté royale aux yeux des peuples, accoutumés depuis si longtems à recourir au Roi dans leurs besoins et dans leurs peines, et à voir en lui le père commun qui pouvoit soulager leurs afflictions !

" L'*adminstration intérieure*. Elle est toute entière dans les mains des départemens, des districts et des municipalités, ressorts trop multipliés, qui nuisent au mouvement de la machine, et souvent peuvent se croiser. Tous ces Corps sont

élus par le peuple, et ne ressortissent du gouvernement, d'après les décrets, que pour leur exécution, ou pour celle des ordres particuliers qui en sont la suite. Ils n'ont, d'un côté, aucune grace à attendre du gouvernement; et de l'autre, la manière de punir ou de réprimer leurs fautes telle qu'elle est établie par les décrets, a des formes si compliquées, qu'il faudroit des cas bien extraordinaires pour pouvoir s'en servir : ce qui réduit à bien peu de chose la surveillance que les ministres doivent avoir sur eux. Ces Corps ont d'ailleurs acquis peu de force et de considération. Les sociétés des amis de la constitution (dont on parlera après) qui ne sont pas responsables, se trouvent bien plus fortes qu'eux ; et par-là, l'action du gouvernement devient nulle. Depuis leur établissement, on a vu plusieurs exemples, que quelque bonne volonté qu'ils eussent pour maintenir le bon ordre, ils n'ont pas osé se servir des moyens que la loi leur donnoit, par la crainte du peuple, poussé par d'autres instigations.

" Les Corps électoraux, quoiqu'ils n'aient aucune action par eux-mêmes, et soient restreints aux élections, ont une force réelle par leur masse, par leur durée biennale, et par la crainte naturelle aux hommes, et sur-tout à ceux qui n'ont pas d'état fixe de déplaire à ceux qui peuvent servir ou nuire.

" La disposition des forces militaires est, par les décrets, dans la main du Roi. Il a été dé-

claré chef suprême de l'armée et de la marine ; mais tout le travail de formation de ces deux armées a été fait par les comités de l'Assemblée, sans la participation du Roi. Tout jusqu'au moindre réglement de discipline, a été fait par eux ; et il reste au Roi le tiers ou le quart des nominations, suivant les occasions ; ce droit devient à-peu-près illusoire, par les obstacles et les contrariétés sans nombre que chacun se permet contre les choix du Roi. On l'a vu obligé de refaire tout le travail des officiers-généraux de l'armée, parce que ces choix déplaisoient aux clubs. En cédant ainsi, Sa Majesté n'a pas voulu livrer d'honnêtes et braves militaires, et les exposer aux violences qui auroient sûrement été exercées contre eux, comme on n'en a vu que trop de fâcheux exemples. Les clubs et les Corps administratifs se mêlent des details intérieurs des troupes, qui doivent être absolument étrangers à ces derniers, qui n'ont que le droit de requérir la force publique, lorsqu'ils pensent qu'il y a lieu à l'employer. Ils se sont servis de ce droit, quelquefois même pour contrarier les dispositions du gouvernement sur la distribution des troupes : de manière qu'il est arrivé plusieurs fois qu'elles ne se trouvoient pas où elles devoient être. Ce n'est qu'aux clubs que l'on doit attribuer l'esprit de révolte contre les officiers et la discipline militaire, qui se répand dans beaucoup de régimens, et qui, si on n'y met ordre efficacement,

cement, sera la destruction de l'armée. Que devient une armée quand elle n'a plus ni chefs ni discipline ? Au lieu d'être la force et la sauve-garde d'un Etat, elle en devient la terreur et le fléau. Combien les soldats français, quand ils auront les yeux désillés, ne rougiront-ils pas de leur conduite, et ne prendront-ils pas en horreur ceux qui ont perverti le bon esprit qui régnoit dans l'armée et la marine française ? Funestes dispositions que celles qui ont encouragé les soldats et les marins à fréquenter les clubs ! Le Roi a toujours pensé que la loi doit être égale pour tous. Les officiers qui sont dans leur tort doivent être punis ; mais ils doivent l'être, comme les subalternes, suivant les dispositions établies par les loix et réglemens. Toutes les portes doivent être ouvertes pour que le mérite se montre et puisse avancer. Tout le bien-être qu'on peut donner aux soldats est juste et nécessaire ; mais il ne peut y avoir d'armée sans officiers et sans discipline, et il n'y en aura jamais, tant que les soldats se croiront en droit de juger la conduite de leurs chefs.

" *Affaires étrangères.* La nomination aux places de ministres dans les cours étrangères a été réservée au Roi, ainsi que la conduite des négociations, mais la liberté du Roi pour ces choix est tout aussi nulle que pour ceux des officiers de l'armée: on en a vu l'exemple à la dernière nomination. La révision et la confir-

mation des traités que s'est réservées l'Assemblée nationale, et la nomination d'un comité diplomatique, détruisent absolument la seconde disposition. Le droit de faire la guerre ne seroit qu'un droit illusoire, parce qu'il faudroit être insensé pour qu'un Roi qui n'est ni ne veut être despote, allât, de but en blanc, attaquer un autre Royaume, lorsque le vœu de sa nation s'y opposeroit, et qu'elle n'accorderoit aucun subside pour la soutenir. Mais le droit de faire la paix est d'un tout autre genre. Le Roi, qui ne fait qu'un avec toute la Nation, qui ne peut avoir d'autre intérêt que le sien, connoît ses droits, connoît ses besoins et ses ressources, et ne craint pas alors de prendre les engagemens qui lui paroissent propres à assurer son bonheur et sa tranquillité; mais quand il faudra que les conventions subissent la révision et la confirmation de l'Assemblée nationale, aucune puissance ne voudra prendre des engagemens qui peuvent être rompus par d'autres que par ceux avec qui elle contracte: et alors tous les pouvoirs se concentrent dans cette Assemblée. D'ailleurs, quelque franchise qu'on mette dans les négociations, est-il possible d'en confier le secret à une Assemblée dont les délibérations sont nécessairement publiques ?

" *Finances.* Le Roi avoit déclaré, bien avant la convocation des Etats-Généraux, qu'il reconnoissoit dans les Assemblées de la Nation le droit d'accorder des subsides; et qu'il ne vouloit plus

imposer les peuples sans leur consentement. Tous les cahiers des députés aux Etats-Généraux s'étoient accordés à mettre le rétablissement des finances au premier rang des objets dont cette Assemblée devoit s'occuper : quelques-uns y avoient mis des restrictions pour des articles à faire décider préalablement. Le Roi a levé les difficultés que ces restrictions auroient pu occasionner, en allant au-devant lui-même, et accordant dans la séance du 23 Juin, tout ce qui avoit été désiré. Le 4 Février 1790, le Roi a prié lui-même l'Assemblée de s'occuper efficacement d'un objet si important : elle ne s'en est occupée que tard, et d'une manière qui peut paroître imparfaite. Il n'y a point encore de tableau exactement fait des recettes et des dépenses, et des ressources qui peuvent combler le déficit : on s'est laissé aller à des calculs hypothétiques. L'Assemblée s'est pressée d'abolir les impôts dont la lourdeur, à la vérité, pesoit beaucoup sur les peuples, mais qui donnoient des ressources assurées ; elle les a remplacés par un impôt presque unique, dont la levée exacte sera peut-être difficile. Les contributions ordinaires sont à présent très-arriérées, et la ressource extraordinaire des douze cents premiers millions d'assignats est presque consommée. Les dépenses des départemens de la guerre et de la marine, au lieu d'être diminuées, sont augmentées, sans y comprendre les dépenses que des armemens nécessaires ont

occasionnées dans le cours de la dernière année, pour l'administration de ce département : les rouages ont été fort multipliés, en confiant les recettes aux administrations de districts. Le Roi, qui le premier n'avoit pas craint de rendre publics les comptes de son administration des finances, et qui avoit montré la volonté que les comptes publics fussent établis comme une règle du gouvernement, a été rendu, si cela est possible, encore plus étranger à ce département qu'aux autres; et les préventions, les jalousies et les récriminations contre le gouvernement, ont été encore plus répandues sur cet objet. Le réglement des fonds, le recouvrement des impositions, la répartition entre les départemens, les récompenses pour les services rendus, tout a été ôté à l'inspection du Roi : il ne lui reste que quelques serviles nominations, et pas même la distribution de quelques gratifications, pour secourir les indigens. Le Roi connoît les difficultés de cette administration ; et s'il étoit possible que la machine du gouvernement pût aller sans sa surveillance directe sur la gestion des finances, Sa Majesté ne regretteroit que de ne pouvoir plus concourir par elle-même à établir un ordre stable qui pût faire parvenir à la diminution des impositons (objet qu'on sait bien que Sa Majesté a toujours vivement désiré, et qu'elle eût pu effectuer sans les dépenses de la guerre de l'Amé-

rique), et de n'avoir plus la distribution de secours pour le soulagement des malheureux.

" Enfin par les décrets, le Roi a été déclaré chef suprême de l'administration du royaume. D'autres décrets subséquens ont réglé l'organisation du ministère de manière que le Roi, que cela doit regarder plus directement, ne peut pour tant rien y changer sans de nouvelles décisions de l'Assemblée. Le système des chefs du parti dominant a été si bien suivi, de jetter une telle méfiance sur tous les agens du gouvernement, qu'il devient presque impossible aujourd'hui de remplir les places de l'administration. Aucun gouvernement ne peut marcher ni subsister sans une confiance réciproque entre les administrateurs et les administrés ; et les derniers réglemens proposés à l'Assemblée nationale sur les peines à infliger aux ministres ou agens du pouvoir exécutif, qui seroient prévaricateurs, ou seroient jugés avoir dépassé les limites de leur puissance, doivent faire naître toutes sortes d'inquiétudes : ces dispositions pénales s'étendent même jusqu'aux subalternes, ce qui détruit toute subordination, les inférieurs ne devant jamais juger les ordres des supérieurs, qui sont responsables de ce qu'ils commandent. Ces réglemens, pour la multiplicité des précautions et des genres de délits qui y sont indiqués, ne tendent qu'à inspirer de la méfiance, au lieu de la confiance qui seroit si nécessaire.

" Cette forme de gouvernement, si vicieuse en elle-même, le devient encore plus par ses conséquences.

" 1°. L'Assemblée par le moyen de ses comités, excède à tout moment les bornes qu'elle s'est prescrites ; elle s'occupe d'affaires qui tiennent uniquement à l'administration intérieure du Royaume et à celle de la justice, et cumule ainsi tous les pouvoirs : elle exerce même par son comité des recherches un véritable despotisme plus barbare et plus insupportable qu'aucun de ceux dont l'histoire ait jamais fait mention. 2°. Il s'est établi dans presque toutes les villes et même dans plusieurs bourgs et villages du Royaume, des associations connues sous le nom des amis de la constitution : contre la teneur des décrets, elles n'en souffrent aucune qui ne soit affiliée avec elles ; ce qui forme une immense corporation plus dangereuse qu'aucune de celles qui existoient auparavant. Sans y être autorisées, mais même au mépris de tous les décrets, elles délibèrent sur toutes les parties du gouvernement, correspondent entre elles sur tous les objets, font et reçoivent des dénonciations, affichent des arrêtés, et ont pris une telle prépondérance, que tous les corps administratifs et judiciaires, sans en excepter l'Assemblée nationale elle-même, obéissent presque tous à leurs ordres.

" Le Roi ne pense pas qu'il soit possible de gouverner un Royaume d'une si grande étendue

et d'une si grande importance que la France, par les moyens établis par l'Assemblée nationale, tels qu'ils existent à présent. Sa Majesté, en accordant à tous les décrets indistinctement une sanction qu'elle savoit bien ne pas pouvoir refuser, y a été déterminée par le désir d'éviter toute discussion que l'expérience lui avoit appris être au moins inutile; elle craignoit de plus qu'on ne pensât qu'elle voulût retarder ou faire manquer les travaux de l'Assemblée nationale, à la réussite desquels la Nation prenoit un si grand intérêt: elle mettoit sa confiance dans les gens sages de cette Assemblée qui reconnoissoient qu'il est plus aisé de détruire un gouvernement, que d'en construire un sur des bases toutes différentes. Ils avoient plusieurs fois senti la nécessité, lors de la révision annoncée des décrets, de donner une force d'action et de réaction nécessaire à tout gouvernement: ils reconnoissoient aussi l'utilité, d'inspirer pour ce gouvernement et pour les loix qui doivent assurer la prospérité et l'état de chacun, une confiance telle qu'elle ramenât dans le Royaume tous les citoyens que le mécontentement dans quelques-uns, et dans la plupart la crainte pour leur vie ou pour leurs propriétés, ont forcé de s'expatrier.

" Mais plus on voit l'Assemblée s'approcher du terme de ses travaux, plus on voit les gens sages perdre leur crédit, plus les dispositions qui ne peuvent mettre que de la difficulté, et même

de l'impossibilité, dans la conduite du gouvernement, et inspirer pour lui de la méfiance et de la fureur, augmentent tous les jours; les autres réglemens, au lieu de jetter un baume salutaire sur les plaies qui saignent encore dans plusieurs provinces, ne font qu'accroître les inquiétudes et aigrir les mécontentemens. L'esprit des clubs domine et envahit tout: les mille journaux et pamphlets calomniateurs, incendiaires, qui se répandent journellement, ne sont que leurs échos, et préparent les esprits de la manière dont ils veulent les conduire; jamais l'Assemblée nationale n'a osé remédier à cette licence, bien éloignée d'une vraie liberté; elle a perdu son crédit, et même la force dont elle auroit besoin pour revenir sur ses pas, et changer ce qui lui paroîtroit bon à être corrigé. On voit par l'esprit qui règne dans les clubs et la manière dont ils s'emparent des nouvelles assemblées primaires, ce qu'on doit attendre d'eux; et s'ils laissent appercevoir quelques dispositions à revenir sur quelque chose, c'est pour détruire les restes de la royauté et établir un gouvernement métaphysique et philosophique, impossible dans son exécution.

" Français, est-ce là ce que vous entendiez en envoyant des représentans à l'Assemblée nationale? Désiriez-vous que l'anarchie et le despotisme des clubs remplaçassent le gouvernement monarchique, sous lequel la Nation a prospéré pendant quatorze cents ans? Désiriez-vous voir

votre Roi comblé d'outrages et privé de sa liberté, pendant qu'il ne s'occupoit que d'établir la vôtre?

" L'amour pour leurs Rois est une des vertus des Français, et Sa Majesté en a reçu personnellement des marques trop touchantes pour pouvoir jamais les oublier. Les factieux sentoient bien que tant que cet amour subsisteroit, leur ouvrage ne pourroit jamais s'achever; ils sentoient également que pour l'affoiblir, il falloit, s'il étoit possible, anéantir le respect qui l'a toujours accompagné, et c'est la source des outrages que le Roi a reçus depuis deux ans, et de tous les maux qu'il a soufferts. Sa Majesté n'en traceroit pas ici l'affligeant tableau, si elle ne vouloit faire connoître à ses fidèles sujets l'esprit de ces factieux qui déchirent le sein de leur patrie, en feignant de vouloir la régénérer.

" Ils profitèrent d'abord de l'espèce d'enthousiasme où l'on étoit pour M. Necker, pour lui procurer, sous les yeux même du Roi, un triomphe d'autant plus éclatant, que dans le même instant les gens qu'ils avoient soudoyés pour cela, affectèrent de ne faire aucune attention à la présence du Roi. Enhardis par ce premier essai, ils osèrent, dès le lendemain à Versailles, faire insulter Mr. l'Archevêque de Paris, le poursuivre à coups de pierres, et mettre sa vie dans le plus grand danger. Lorsque l'insurrection éclata dans Paris un courier que le Roi avoit envoyé, fut arrêté publiquement, fouillé, et les let-

tres du Roi même furent ouvertes. Pendant ce tems l'Assemblée nationale sembloit insulter à la douleur de Sa Majesté, en ne s'occupant qu'à combler de marques d'estime ces mêmes ministres dont le renvoi a servi de prétexte à l'insurrection, et que depuis elle n'a pas mieux traités pour cela. Le roi s'étant déterminé à aller porter lui-même des paroles de paix dans la capitale, des gens apostés sur la route eurent grand soin d'empêcher ces cris de *vive le Roi*, si naturels aux Français; et les harangues qu'on lui fit, loin de porter l'expression de la reconnoissance, ne furent remplies que d'une ironie amère.

" Cependant l'on accoutumoit de plus en plus le peuple au mépris de la royauté et des loix: celui de Versailles essayoit de pendre deux housards à la grille du château, arrachoit un parricide au supplice, s'opposoit à l'envoi d'un détachement de chasseurs, destinés à maintenir le bon ordre, tandis qu'un énergumène faisoit publiquement au Palais-Royal la motion de venir enlever le Roi et son fils, de les garder à Paris, et d'enfermer la Reine dans un couvent, et que cette motion, au lieu d'être rejettée avec l'indignation qu'elle auroit dû exciter, étoit applaudie. L'Assemblée, de son côté, non contente de dégrader la royauté, par ses décrets, affectoit même du mépris pour la personne du Roi, et recevoit d'une manière impossible à qualifier convenablement,

les observations du Roi sur les décrets de la nuit des 4 et 5 Août.

" Enfin arrivèrent les journées des 5 et 6 Octobre ; le récit en seroit superflu, et Sa Majesté l'épargne à ses fidèles sujets, mais elle ne peut pas s'empêcher de faire remarquer la conduite de l'Assemblée pendant ces horribles scènes. Loin de songer à les prévenir ou du moins à les arrêter, elle resta tranquille, et se contenta de répondre à la motion de se transporter en corps chez le Roi, que cela n'étoit pas de sa dignité.

" Depuis ce moment, presque tous les jours ont été marqués par de nouvelles scènes plus affligeantes les unes que les autres pour le Roi, ou par de nouvelles insultes qui lui ont été faites. A peine le Roi étoit-il aux Tuileries, qu'un innocent fut masacré et sa tête promenée dans Paris, presque sous les yeux du Roi. Dans plusieurs provinces ceux qui paroissoient attachés au Roi ou à sa personne, ont été persécutés ; plusieurs même ont perdu la vie, sans qu'il ait été possible au Roi de faire punir les assasins, ou même d'en témoigner sa sensibilité. Dans le jardin même des Tuileries, tous les députés qui ont parlé contre la royauté ou contre la Religion (car les factieux, dans leur rage, n'ont pas plus respecté l'Autel que le Trône), ont reçu les honneurs du triomphe, pendant que ceux qui pensent différemment, y sont à tout moment insultés, et leur vie même est continuellement menacée.

" A la fédération du 14 Juillet 1790, l'Assemblée, en nommant le Roi, par un décret spécial, pour en être le chef, s'est montrée par-là penser qu'elle auroit pu en nommer un autre. A cette même cérémonie, malgré la demande du Roi, la famille royale a été placée dans un endroit séparé de celui qu'il occupoit: chose inouie jusqu'à présent. (C'est pendant cette fédération que le Roi a passé les momens les plus doux de son séjour à Paris. Il s'arrête avec complaisance sur le souvenir des témoignages d'attachement et d'amour que lui ont donnés les gardes nationaux de toute la France, rassemblés pour cette cérémonie).

" Les ministres du Roi, ces mêmes ministres que l'Assemblée avoit forcé le Roi de rappeller, ou dont elle avoit applaudi la nomination, ont été contraints, à force d'insultes et de menaces, à quitter leurs places, excepté un.

" Mesdames, tantes du Roi, et qui étoient restées constamment près de lui, déterminées par un motif de religion, ayant voulu se rendre à Rome, les factieux n'ont pas voulu leur laisser même la liberté qui appartient à toute personne, et qui est établie par la déclaration des droits de l'homme. Une troupe, poussée par eux, s'est portée vers Bellevue pour arrêter Mesdames. Le coup ayant été manqué par leur prompt départ, les factieux ne se sont pas déconcertés ; ils se sont portés chez MONSIEUR, sous prétexte qu'il

vouloit suivre Mesdames; et quoiqu'ils n'aient recueilli de cette démarche que le plaisir de lui faire une insulte, elle n'a pas eté tout-à-fait perdue pour leur systême. Cependant, n'ayant pu faire arrêter Mesdames à Bellevue, ils ont trouvé le moyen de les faire arrêter à Arnai-le-Duc; et il a fallu des ordres de l'Assemblée nationale pour leur laisser continuer leur route, ceux du Roi ayant été méprisés.

" A peine la nouvelle de cette arrestation fut-elle arrivée à Paris, qu'ils ont essayé de faire approuver par l'Assemblée nationale, cette violation de liberté; mais leur coup ayant été manqué, ils ont éxcité un soulèvement pour contraindre le Roi à faire revenir Mesdames; mais la bonne conduite de la garde nationale (dont le Roi s'est empressé de témoigner sa satisfaction) ayant dissipé l'attroupement, ils eurent recours à d'autres moyens. Il ne leur avoit pas été difficile d'observer qu'au moindre mouvement qui se faisoit sentir, une grande quantité de fidèles sujets se rendoient aux tribunes des Tuileries, et formoient un espèce de bataillon capable d'en imposer aux mal-intentionnés; ils excitèrent une émeute à Vincennes, et firent courir à dessein, le bruit qu'on se serviroit de cette occasion pour se porter aux Tuileries, afin que les défenseurs du Roi pussent se rassembler comme ils l'avoient déjà fait, et qu'on pût dénaturer leurs intentions aux yeux de la garde nationale, en leur prêtant le projet des for-

faits même contre lesquels ils s'armoient. Ils réussirent si bien à aigrir les esprits, que le Roi eut la douleur de voir maltraiter sous ses yeux, sans pouvoir les défendre, ceux qui lui donnoient les plus touchantes preuves de leur attachement. Ce fut en vain que Sa Majesté leur demanda elle-même les armes qu'on avoit rendues suspectes. Ce fut en vain qu'ils lui donnèrent cette dernière marque de leur dévouement; rien ne put retenir ces esprits égarés, qui poussèrent l'audace jusqu'à se faire livrer, et briser même ces armes, dont le Roi s'étoit rendu dépositaire.

" Cependant le Roi, après avoir été malade, se disposoit à profiter des beaux jours du printems pour aller à Saint-Cloud, comme il y avoit été, l'année dernière, une partie de l'été et de l'automne. Comme ce voyage tomboit dans la Semaine-Sainte, on osa se servir de l'attachement connu du Roi pour la Religion de ses pères, pour animer les esprits contre lui; et dès le Dimanche au soir, le club des cordeliers fit afficher un arrête, dans lequel le Roi lui même étoit dénoncé comme réfractaire à la loi. Le lendemain, Sa Majesté monte en voiture, pour partir; mais arrivée aux Tuileries, une foule de peuple parut vouloir s'opposer à son passage; et c'est avec bien de la peine qu'on doit dire ici, que la garde nationale, loin de réprimer les séditieux, se joignit à eux, et arrêta elle-même les chevaux. En vain Mr.

de la Fayette fit-il tout ce qu'il put pour faire comprendre à cette garde l'horreur de la conduite quelle tenoit, rien ne put réussir; les discours les plus insolens, les motions les plus abominables retentissoient aux oreilles de Sa Majesté; les personnes de sa maison qui se trouvoient là, s'empressèrent de lui faire un rempart de leur corps, si les intentions qu'on ne manifestoit que trop, venoient à s'exécuter; mais il falloit que le Roi bût le calice jusqu'à la lie; ses fidèles serviteurs lui furent arrachés avec violence; enfin, après avoir enduré pendant une heure trois quarts tous ces outrages, Sa Majesté fut contrainte de rester dans sa prison; car, après cela, on ne sauroit appeler cela un palais. Son premier soin fut d'envoyer chercher le directoire du département, chargé par état de veiller à la tranquilité et à la sûreté publique, et de l'instruire de ce qui venoit de se passer. Le lendemain, S. M. rendit elle-même à l'Assemblée nationale pour lui faire sentir combien cet évènement étoit contraire même à la nouvelle constitution; de nouvelles insultes furent le fruit que le Roi retira de ces démarches. Il fut obligé de consentir à l'éloignement de sa chapelle et de la plupart de ses grands officiers, et d'approuver la lettre que son ministre a écrite en son nom aux cours étrangères; enfin d'assister, le jour de Pâques, à la Messe du nouveau curé de St. Germain-l'Auxerrois.

" D'après tous ces motifs de l'impossibilité où

le Roi se trouve d'opérer le bien, et d'empêcher le mal qui se commet, est-il étonnant que le Roi ait cherché à recouvrer sa liberté et à se mettre en sûreté avec sa famille?

Français, et vous sur-tout Parisiens, vous habitans d'une ville que les ancêtres de Sa Majesté se plaisoient à appeler *leur bonne ville de Paris*, méfiez-vous des suggestions et des mensonges de vos faux amis; revenez à votre Roi; il sera toujours votre père, votre meilleur ami; quel plaisir n'aura-t-il pas à oublier toutes ses injures personnelles, et de se voir au milieu de vous, lorsqu'une constitution, qu'il aura acceptée librement, fera que notre sainte Religion sera respectée, que le gouvernement sera établi sur un pied stable, et que par son action, les biens et l'état de chacun ne seront plus troublés, que les loix ne seront plus enfreintes impunément, et qu'enfin la liberté sera posée sur des bases fermes et inébranlables. "

Signé, LOUIS.

A Paris, le 20 Juin 1791.

" Le Roi défend à ses ministres de signer aucun ordre en son nom, jusqu'à ce qu'ils aient reçu ses ordres ultérieurs; il enjoint à son garde du sceau de l'État, de le lui renvoyer d'abord qu'il en sera requis de sa part. "

Signé, LOUIS.

A Paris, le 20 Juin 1791.

No 18.

[N°. 18.]

Adresse de l'Assemblée nationale aux Français, à l'occasion du départ du Roi, et en réponse à la déclaration de Sa Majesté.

Le 23 Juin 1791.

" Un grand attentat vient de se commettre.... L'Assemblée nationale touchoit au terme de ses longs travaux ; la Constitution étoit finie ; les orages de la révolution alloient cesser, et les ennemis du bien public ont voulu, par un seul forfait, immoler la Nation entière à leur vengeance. Le Roi et la Famillle royale ont été enlevés dans la nuit du 20 au 21 de ce mois. "

" Vos Représentans triompheront de cet obstacle, ils mesureront l'étendue des devoirs qui leur sont imposés. La liberté publique sera maintenue ; les conspirateurs et les esclaves apprendront à connoître l'intrépidité des fondateurs de la liberté française, et nous prenons à la face de la Nation, l'engagement solennel de venger la loi ou de mourir. "

" La France veut être libre, et elle sera libre. On cherche à faire rétrograder la révolution, la révolution ne rétrogradera point. Français, telle est votre volonté : elle sera accomplie. "

" Il s'agissoit d'abord d'appliquer la loi à la

position momentanée où se trouve le royaume. Le Roi, dans la Constitution, exerce les fonctions royales du refus ou de la sanction, sur les décrets du Corps législatif; il est en outre chef du pouvoir exécutif; et en cette dernière qualité, il fait exécuter la loi par des ministres responsables. Si le premier des fonctionnaires publics déserte son poste, ou est enlevé malgré lui, les Représentans de la Nation revêtus de tous les pouvoirs nécessaires au salut de l'État et à l'activité du gouvernement, ont le droit d'y suppléer. En prononçant que l'apposition du sceau de l'État, et la signature du ministre de la justice, donneront aux décrets le caractère et l'autorité de la loi, l'Assemblée nationale *constituante* a exercé un droit incontestable. Sous le second rapport il n'étoit pas moins facile de trouver un supplément. En effet, aucun ordre du Roi ne pouvant être exécuté, s'il n'est contresigné par les ministres, qui, en demeurent responsables, il a suffi d'une simple déclaration qui ordonnât provisoirement aux ministres d'agir sous leur responsabilité, sans la signature du Roi. "

" Après avoir pourvu aux moyens de compléter et de faire exécuter la loi, les dangers de la crise sont écartés à l'égard de l'intérieur du royaume. Contre les attaques du dehors on vient de donner à l'armée un premier renfort de quatre cents mille gardes nationales. Au dedans et au dehors, la France a donc toutes sortes de motifs

de sécurité, si les esprits ne se laissent point frapper d'étonnement, s'ils gardent de la modération. L'Assemblée nationale constituante est en place. Tous les pouvoirs publics établis par la constitution sont en activité; le patriotisme des citoyens de Paris, sa garde nationale, dont le zèle est au dessus de tout éloge, veillent au tour de vos Représentans. Les citoyens actifs du royaume entier sont enrôlés, et la France peut attendre ses ennemis. "

" Faut-il craindre les suites d'un écrit arraché avant le départ de ce Roi séduit, que nous ne croirons inexcusable qu'à la dernière extrémité? On conçoit à peine l'ignorance et les prétentions de ceux qui l'ont dicté; il sera discuté par la suite avec plus d'étendue, si vos intérêts l'exigent; mais il est de notre devoir d'en donner ici une idée. "

" L'Assemblée nationale a fait une proclamation solennelle des vérités politiques; elle a retrouvé, ou plutôt elle a rétabli les droits sacrés du genre humain; et cet écrit présente de nouveau la théorie de l'esclavage ! "

" Français ! on y rappelle cette journée du 23 Juin, où le chef du pouvoir exécutif, où le premier des fonctionnaires publics osa dicter ses volontés absolues à vos Représentans, chargés par vos ordres de refaire la constitution du royaume. "

" On ne craint pas d'y parler de cette armée

qui menaçoit l'Assemblée nationale au mois de Juillet; on ose se faire un mérite de l'avoir éloignée des délibérations de vos Représentans. "

" L'Assemblée nationale a gémi des évènemens du 6 Octobre. Elle a ordonné la poursuite des coupables; et parce qu'il est difficile de retrouver quelques brigands au milieu de l'insurrection de tout un peuple, on lui reproche de les laisser impunis! On se garde bien de raconter les outrages qui provoquèrent ces désordres. La Nation étoit plus juste et plus généreuse, elle ne reprochoit plus au Roi les violences exercées sous son règne, et sous le règne de ses ayeux. "

" On ose y rappeller la fédération du 14 Juillet de l'année dernière. Qu'en est-il resté dans la mémoire des auteurs de cet écrit? C'est que le premier fonctionnaire public n'étoit placé qu'à la tête des Représentans de la Nation. Au milieu de tous les députés, des gardes nationales, et des troupes de ligne du Royaume, il y prononça un serment solennel; et c'est là ce qu'on oublie, le serment du Roi fut libre; car il dit lui-même, que, *c'est pendant la fédération qu'il a passé les momens les plus doux de son séjour à Paris; qu'il s'arrête avec complaisance sur le souvenir des témoignages d'attachement et d'amour que lui ont donné les gardes nationaux de toute la France.* Si un jour le Roi ne déclaroit pas que des factieux l'ont entraîné, on auroit dénoncé son parjure au monde entier. "

" Est-il besoin de parcourir tant d'autres reproches si mal fondés? On diroit que les peuples sont faits pour les Rois, et que la clémence est l'unique devoir de ceux-ci ; qu'une grande Nation doit se régénérer sans aucune agitation, sans troubler un moment les plaisirs des Rois et de leur Cour ; quelques désordres ont accompagné la révolution ; mais l'ancien despotisme doit-il se plaindre des maux qu'il avoit faits? et convient-il de s'étonner que le peuple n'ait pas toujours gardé la mesure, en dissipant cet amas de corruption formé pendant des siècles par les crimes du pouvoir absolu? "

" Des adresses de félicitations et de remercimens sont arrivées de toutes les parties du royaume ; on dit que c'est l'ouvrage des factieux, oui sans doute de vingt-quatre millions de factieux. "

" Il falloit reconstituer tous les pouvoirs ; par ce que tout étoit corrompu, parce qu'une dette effrayante, accumulée par l'impéritie et les désordres du gouvernement alloit précipiter la Nation dans un abîme. On nous reproche de n'avoir pas soumis la constitution au refus du Roi ; mais la royauté n'est établie que pour le peuple, et si les grandes nations sont obligées de la maintenir, c'est parce qu'elle est la sauve-garde de leur bonheur. La constitution lui laisse sa prérogative et son véritable caractère. Vos Représentans seroient criminels, s'ils avoient sacrifié

vingt-quatre millions de citoyens à l'intérêt d'un seul homme. "

" Le travail des peuples alimente le trésor de l'État; c'est un dépôt sacré. Le premier symptôme de l'esclavage est de ne voir dans les contributions publiques, qu'une dette envers le despotisme. La France devoit être, sur ce point, plus sévère qu'aucune autre nation. On a réglé l'emploi des contributions d'après la stricte justice. On a pourvu avec munificence aux dépenses du Roi; par une condescendance de l'Assemblée nationale, il en a lui-même fixé la somme; et près de 30 millions accordés à la liste civile, sont présentés comme une somme trop modique. "

" Le décret sur la guerre et la paix ôte au Roi et à ses ministres le droit de dévouer les peuples au carnage, selon le caprice ou les calculs de la Cour; Et l'on paroît le regretter! Des traités désastreux ont tour à tour sacrifié le territoire de l'Empire français, les trésors de l'État, et l'industrie des citoyens. Le Corps législatif connoîtra mieux les intérêts de la Nation, et l'on nous reproche de lui avoir conservé la révision et la confirmation des traités! Quoi donc! N'avez-vous pas fait une assez longue expérience des erreurs du gouvernement? "

" Sous l'ancien régime l'avancement et la discipline des soldats et des officiers de terre et de mer étoient abandonnés au caprice du ministère,

L'Assemblée nationale, occupée de leur bonheur, leur a restitué des droits qui leur appartiennent ; l'autorité royale n'aura plus que le tiers ou le quart des places à donner, et l'on ne trouve point cette part suffisante ! "

" On attaque votre ordre judiciaire, sans songer que le Roi d'un grand peuple ne doit se mêler de l'administration de la justice que pour faire observer les loix et exécuter les jugemens. On veut exciter des regrets sur le droit de faire grace et de commuer les peines, et cependant tout le monde sait comment ce droit est exercé, et sur qui les monarques répandent de pareilles faveurs."

" Se plaindre de ne pouvoir plus ordonner toutes les parties de l'Administration, c'est revendiquer le despostisme ministeriel. Certes le Roi ne pouvoit l'exercer lui-même. On a laissé au peuple le choix de ses administrateurs ; mais ces même administrateurs sont sous l'autorité du Roi, en tout ce qui ne concerne pas la répartition de l'impôt ; il peut sous la responsabilité de ses ministres, annuller leurs actes irréguliers, les suspendre de leurs fonctions. "

" Les pouvoirs une fois répartis, le corps législatif, comme tout autre pouvoir public, ne pourra sortir des bornes qui lui sont assignées. Au défaut des ministres, l'impérieuse nécessité a forcé quelquefois l'Assemblée nationale à se mêler malgré elle de l'administration. Ce n'est pas au gouvernement à le lui reprocher. On doit le

dire, il n'inspiroit plus de confiance, et tandis que tous les Français se portoient vers le Corps législatif comme centre d'action, l'Assemblée ne s'est jamais occupée sur ce point, que des dispositions nécessaires au maintien de la liberté. Devoit-elle conserver de la confiance ? Vous pouvez en juger d'après le départ du Roi. "

" La faction qui à la suite de ce départ a tracé la longue liste de reproches auxquels il sera si facile de répondre, s'est démasquée elle-même. Des imputations souvent renouvellées en décèlent la source. On se plaint de la complication du nouveau régime, et par une contradiction sensible, on se plaint en même tems de la durée biennale des fonctions des électeurs. On reproche amèrement aux sociétés des amis de la constitution cet amour ardent de la liberté qui a tant servi la révolution et qui peut être si utile encore, si dans les circonstances actuelles il est dirigé par un patriotisme tout à la fois prudent et éclairé. "

" Faut-il parler enfin de cette insinuation relative à la Religion catholique ? L'Assemblée nationale, vous le savez, n'a fait qu'user des droits de la puissance civile ; elle a rétabli la pureté des premiers siècles chrétiens, et ce ne sont pas les intérêts du Ciel qui dictent ce reproche. "

" Français ! l'absence du Roi n'arrêtera point l'activité du gouvernement, et un seul danger réel vous menace. Vous avez à vous prémunir

contre la suspension des travaux de l'industrie, du paiement des contributions publiques, contre cette agitation sans mesure, qui, bouleverseroit l'Etat par excès de patriotisme, où l'instigation de nos ennemis, commenceroit par l'anarchie, et finiroit par la guerre civile. "

" C'est sur ce danger que l'Assemblée nationale appelle la sollicitude de tous les bons citoyens; c'est ce malheur véritable qu'il faut éviter. Vos représentans vous exhortent au nom de la patrie, au nom de la liberté, à ne pas le perdre de vue. Dans les momens de crise il est nécessaire de développer un grand caractère; c'est alors que les haines privées et les intérêts particuliers doivent disparoître, le peuple qui vient de reconquérir sa liberté, doit sur-tout montrer cette fermeté tranquille qui doit faire pâlir les tyrans. "

" Le grand, presque l'unique intérêt qui doive nous occuper particulièrement jusqu'à l'époque très-prochaine où l'Assemblée nationale aura pris une résolution définitive, c'est le maintien de l'ordre. L'ordre peut exister par-tout où il existe un centre d'autorité; il se trouve dans l'Assemblée de vos représentans. Il suffira provisoirement, si la voix des citoyens prononce avec énergie l'obligation de respecter la loi; si la force publique de l'armée, des gardes nationales, et de tous les Français en appuie l'exécution. Nous gémirons des malheurs de notre Roi; nous appellerons la vengeance des loix sur ceux qui l'ont entraîné

loin de son poste ; mais l'empire ne sera point ébranlé ; l'activité de l'administration et de la justice ne sera point ralentie. Ralliez-vous donc sur ce point, auquel le salut de la France est attaché ; surveillez ces hommes qui ne voient dans les calamités publiques qu'une occasion favorable à leur brigandage. Unissez vos efforts pour empêcher les violences, pour assurer les contributions, et la libre circulation des subsistances, pour maintenir la sûreté des personnes et de toutes les propriétés. Montrez la loi aux coupables ; fortifiez les autorités constitutionnelles de toute la puissance de la volonté générale ; que les factieux qui demandent le sang de leurs concitoyens voient l'ordre se maintenir au milieu des orages, la constitution s'affermir et devenir plus chère aux Français par les coups qu'ils lui portent ; qu'enfin les dangers qui vous étoient réservés, n'atteignent que les ennemis de votre bonheur. La capitale peut servir de modèle au reste de la France ; le départ du Roi n'a point causé d'agitation ; et, ce qui fait le désespoir de nos ennemis, elle jouit d'une tranquillité parfaite. "

" Il est envers les grandes nations des attentats que la générosité seule peut faire oublier. Le peuple français étoit fier dans la servitude ; il montre les vertus et l'héroïsme de la liberté, que les ennemis de la constitution le sachent ; pour asservir de nouveau le territoire de cet em-

pire, il faudroit anéantir la Nation. Le despotisme formera, s'il le veut, une pareille entreprise, il sera vaincu ; ou, à la suite de son affreux triomphe, il ne trouvera que des ruines. "

Signés, Alexandre BEAUHARNAIS, *président*; MAURIET, REGNIER, LE CARLIER, FRICAUD, GRENOT, MERLE *Secrétaires*.

[N°. 19.]

Extrait du Récit fait par DROUET *à l'Assemblée dans la séance du 24 Juin* 1791.

Je suis maître de poste à Sainte-Menehould, ancien dragon au régiment de Condé ; mon camarade Guillaume est un ancien dragon au régiment de la Reine. Le 21 Juin, à 7 heures et demie du soir, deux voitures et onze chevaux relaièrent à la poste de Sainte-Menehould. Je crus reconnoître la Reine, et appercevant un homme dans le fond de la voiture à gauche, je fus frappé de la ressemblance de sa phisionomie avec l'effigie d'un assignat de 50 livres. Ces voitures étant couduites par un détachement de dragons, lequel succédoit à un détachement de hussards, sous le prétexte de protéger un trésor, cette escorte me confirma dans mes soupçons, sur-tout lorsque je vis le commandant de ce détachement parler d'un air très-animé à l'un des

couriers. Cependant, craignant d'exciter de fausses alarmes, étant tout seul, ne pouvant consulter personne, je laissai partir les voitures; mais voyant aussitôt les dragons prêts à se mettre en mouvement pour les suivre, et voyant qu'après avoir demandé des chevaux pour Verdun, ces voitures prenoient la route de Varennes, je pris un chemin de traverse pour les rejoindre. Je les devançai à Varennes; il étoit onze heures du soir, il faisoit très-noir; tout le monde étoit couché. Les voitures furent arrêtées dans une rue par une dispute qui eut lieu entre les postillons et le maître de poste du lieu. Celui-ci vouloit qu'on fit reposer et rafraîchir les chevaux, selon l'usage; le Roi au contraire vouloit accélérer son départ. Je dis alors à mon camarade—Es-tu bon patriote?—N'en doute pas.—Eh bien, lui répondis-je, le Roi est à Varennes; il faut l'arrêter.—Alors nous descendîmes, et nous fîmes réflexion que pour le succès de notre projet, il falloit barricader la rue et le pont par où le Roi devoit passer.

En conséquence, nous nous transportâmes, moi et mon camarade près du pont de Varennes; il y avoit heureusement tout près une voiture chargée de meubles, nous l'amenâmes, et la culbutâmes, de manière qu'il étoit impossible de passer. Alors, nous courûmes chercher le procureur de la Commune, le maire, le commandant de la garde nationale, et en moins d'un demi quart d'heure nous fûmes réunis au nombre de 8 hom-

mes de bonne volonté. Le commandant de la garde nationale, accompagné du procureur de la Commune s'approchèrent de la voiture et demandèrent aux voyageurs qui ils étoient, et où ils alloient. La Reine répondit, qu'ils étoient pressés. On insista pour avoir un passeport ; elle donna enfin son passeport à deux gardes d'honneur, qui descendirent et vinrent à l'auberge. Ce passeport portoit le nom de madame la baronne de Corff, &c. Quelques personnes qui entendirent la lecture de ce passeport disoient qu'il devoit suffire. Nous combattîmes cette idée, parce que le passeport n'étoit signé que du Roi, et qu'il devoit l'être aussi par le président de l'Assemblée nationale. Si vous êtes une étrangère, disions-nous à la Reine, pourquoi avez vous assez d'influence pour faire partir après vous un détachement ? Pourquoi, lorsque vous passâtes par Clermont, en avez-vous eu assez pour vous faire suivre par un premier détachement ? D'après ces réflexions et notre obstination, on délibera que les voyageurs ne partiroient que le lendemain. Ils descendirent dans la maison du procureur de la Commune.

Alors, de lui-même, le Roi nous dit. Voilà le Roi, voilà mon épouse et mes enfans ; nous vous conjurons de nous traiter avec les égards que les Français ont toujours eu pour leurs Rois. Aussitôt les gardes nationales accoururent en foule, et l'on vit en même tems arriver les hus-

sards le sabre à la main ; ils essayèrent d'approcher de la maison où étoit le Roi ; mais nous leur criâmes que si on vouloit l'arracher, on ne l'arracheroit que mort d'entre nos mains..... Le commandant de la garde nationale eut l'attention en outre de faire venir deux petites pièces d'artillerie qu'il fit mettre à l'embouchure de la rue par en haut, et deux autres en bas, de manière que les hussards se trouvèrent entre deux feux. On les somma de descendre de cheval. M. Goguelas s'y refusa : il dit qu'il vouloit avec sa troupe garder le Roi : on lui répondit que la garde nationale le garderoit bien, qu'elle n'avoit pas besoin de son secours ; il insista, alors le commandant de la garde nationale ordonna aux canonniers de se mettre à leurs rangs et de faire feu, ils prirent la mèche à la main.... Mais j'ai l'honneur de vous observer qu'il n'y avoit rien dans les canons.

En un mot le commandant de la garde nationale et la garde nationale firent si bien qu'ils parvinrent à désarmer les hussards ; le Roi fut donc constitué prisonnier. Ayant ainsi rempli notre devoir, nous retournâmes chez nous au milieu des félicitations de nos concitoyens ; et nous sommes venus déposer dans le sein de l'Assemblée nationale l'hommage de nos services.

[N°. 20.]

Déclarations données par le Roi et par la Reine aux Commissaires de l'Assemblée, le Dimanche 26 Juin 1791.

DÉCLARATION DU ROI.

" Je vois, Messieurs, par l'objet de la mission qui vous est donnée, qu'il ne s'agit point ici d'un interrogatoire; mais je veux bien répondre au désir de l'Assemblée nationale, je ne craindrai jamais de rendre publics les motifs de ma conduite. "

" Les motifs de mon départ sont les outrages et les menaces qui ont été faites, le 18 Avril, à ma famille et à moi-même. Depuis ce tems, plusieurs écrits ont cherché à provoquer des violences contre ma personne et ma famille, et ces insultes sont restées jusqu'à présent impunies; j'ai cru dès-lors qu'il n'y avoit pas de sûreté, ni même de décence pour ma famille et pour moi de rester à Paris; j'ai désiré en conséquence quitter cette ville. Ne le pouvant faire publiquement j'ai resolu de sortir de nuit et sans suite. "

" Jamais mon intention n'a été de sortir du rovaume. Je n'ai eu aucun concert sur cet ob-

jet, ni avec les puissances étrangères, ni avec mes parens, ni avec aucun autre Français sorti du royaume. Je pourrois donner pour preuve de mon intention que des logemens étoient préparés a Montmédi, pour me recevoir ainsi que ma famille. "

" J'avois choisi cette place, parce qu'étant fortifiée, ma famille y auroit été en sûreté, et qu'étant près des frontières, j'aurois été plus à portée de m'opposer à toute espèce d'invasion dans la France, si on avoit voulu en tenter quelques unes, et de me porter moi-même par-tout où j'aurois pu croire qu'il y avoit quelque danger. "

" Enfin, j'avois choisi Montmédi comme le premier point de ma retraite, jusqu'au moment où j'aurois trouvé à propos de me rendre dans telle autre partie du royaume qui m'auroit paru convenable. "

" *Un de mes principaux motifs, en quittant Paris, étoit de faire tomber l'argument qu'on tiroit de ma non liberté, qui pouvoit devenir une occasion nouvelle de troubles.* "

" Si j'avois eu l'intention de sortir du royaume, je n'aurois pas publié mon mémoire le jour de mon départ; mais j'aurois attendu d'être hors des frontières. "

" Je conservois toujours le désir de retourner à Paris. C'est dans ce sens qu'il faut entendre la dernière phrase de mon mémoire, dans laquelle je dis: *Français, et vous sur-tout Parisiens, quel plaisir*

plaisir n'aurai-je pas à me retrouver au milieu de vous !

" Je n'avois dans ma voiture que 13,000 livres en or, et 500,000 livres en assignats, contenus dans le porte-feuille qui m'a été renvoyé par le Département. "

" Je n'ai prévenu MONSIEUR de mon départ, que peu de tems auparavant : il n'a passé dans le pays étranger que parce qu'il avoit été convenu entre lui et moi que nous ne suivrions pas la même route, et il devoit venir en France auprès de moi. "

" J'avois fait donner des ordres peu de jours avant mon départ, aux trois personnes qui m'accompagnoient en courriers, de se faire faire des habits de courriers pour porter des dépêches. Ce n'est que la veille que l'un deux a reçu verbalement mes ordres. "

" Le Passe-port étoit nécessaire pour faciliter mon voyage : il n'a été indiqué pour un pays étranger, que parce qu'on n'en donnoit pas au bureau des affaires étrangères pour l'intérieur du royaume, et la route indiquée par Francfort n'a pas été suivie dans ce voyage. "

" Je n'ai jamais fait aucune protestation que celle contenue dans le mémoire que j'avois fait à mon départ. *Cette protestation ne porte pas même ainsi que le contenu du mémoire, sur le fond des principes de la Constitution, mais sur la forme des sanctions ; c'est-à-dire, sur le peu de liberté dont je*

paroissois jouir, et sur ce que les décrets n'ayant pas été présentés en masse, je ne pouvois pas juger de l'ensemble de la Constitution. "

" *Le principal reproche qui est contenu dans le mémoire, se rapporte aux difficultés dans les moyens d'administration et d'exécution. J'ai reconnu dans mon voyage que l'opinion publique étoit décidée en faveur de la Constitution. Je n'avois pas cru pouvoir connoître pleinement cette opinion publique à Paris, mais, d'après les notions que j'ai recueillies personnellement dans ma route, je me suis convaincu combien il étoit nécessaire pour le bonheur de la Nation, et même pour la Constitution, de donner de la force aux pouvoirs établis pour maintenir l'ordre public.* "

" *Aussitôt que j'ai reconnu la volonté générale, je n'ai point hésité, comme je n'ai jamais hésité, de faire le sacrifice de tout ce qui m'est personnel pour le bonheur du peuple, qui a toujours été l'objet de mes désirs. J'oublierai volontiers tous les désagrémens que je peux avoir essuié, pour assurer la paix et la tranquillité de la Nation.* "

" Le Roi, après avoir pris lecture de la déclaration, a observé qu'il avoit omis d'ajouter que la gouvernante de son fils et les femmes de suite, n'avoient été averties que peu de tems avant son départ; et le Roi a signé avec nous. "

Signés, LOUIS, TRONCHET, DUPORT et D'ANDRÉ.

Déclaration donnée par la Reine aux Commissaires de l'Assemblée, le Lundi 27 Juin 1791.

" Je déclare que le Roi désirant partir avec ses enfans, rien dans la nature n'auroit pu m'empêcher de le suivre. J'ai assez prouvé, depuis deux ans, dans plusieurs circonstances, que je voulois ne le quitter jamais. Ce qui m'a encore plus déterminée, c'est l'assurance positive que j'avois que le Roi ne vouloit pas quitter le royaume ; s'il en avoit eu le désir, toute ma force auroit été employée pour l'en empêcher. "

" La gouvernante de mon fils étoit malade depuis trois semaines, et n'a reçu les ordres que peu de tems avant le voyage ; elle en ignoroit absolument la destination. Elle n'a emporté avec elle aucune espèce de hardes ; et j'ai été obligée moi-même de lui en prêter. "

" Les trois courriers n'ont point su la destination ni le but du voyage. Sur le chemin on leur donnoit de l'argent pour payer les chevaux : ils recevoient l'ordre pour la route. Les deux femmes de chambre ont été averties dans l'instant même du départ, et l'une d'elles qui a son mari dans le château, n'a pas pu le voir avant de partir. "

" MONSIEUR et MADAME devoient venir nous joindre en France, et ils ne sont passés dans

le pays étranger que pour ne pas embarrasser et faire manquer de chevaux sur la route. Nous sommes sortis par l'appartement de M. de Villequier, en prenant la précaution de ne sortir que séparément et à diverses reprises. "

" Après avoir fait lecture à la Reine de la présente déclaration, elle a reconnu qu'elle étoit conforme à ce qu'elle nous avoit dit, et elle a signé avec nous. "

Signés, MARIE-ANTOINETTE, TRONCHET, D'ANDRÉ et DUPORT.

[N° 21.]

Lettre de M. le Marquis DE BOUILLÉ *à l'Assemblée.*

A Luxembourg, le 26 Juin 1791.

MESSIEURS,

Le Roi vient de faire un effort pour briser les fers dans lesquels vous le retenez depuis longtems, ainsi que sa famille infortunée. Une destinée aveugle à laquelle les empires sont soumis, et contre laquelle la prudence des hommes ne

peut rien, en a décidé autrement: il est encore votre captif, et ses jours ainsi que ceux de la Reine, sont (et j'en fremis) à la disposition d'un peuple que vous avez rendu féroce et sanguinaire, et qui est devenu l'objet du mépris de l'univers. Il est intéressant pour vous, Messieurs, pour ce que vous appellez la Nation, pour moi enfin, pour le Roi lui-même, que les causes qui ont produit cet évènement, que les circonstances qui l'ont accompagné, que le grand objet qui devoit en être le résultat et qui avoit inspiré au Roi ce dessein noble et courageux, soient connus des Français; qu'ils le soient de l'Europe entière et que l'on sache qu'en désertant de sa prison, en voulant chercher sur la frontière un asile près de moi et parmi ses troupes, il a eu moins en vue son salut que celui d'un peuple ingrat et cruel. Les dangers qu'il pouvoit courir, ceux auxquels il exposoit sa famille, rien n'a pu l'arrêter; il n'a écouté que la générosité et la bonté de son cœur.

" Dégagé dans ce moment de tous les liens qui m'attachoient à vous, n'étant plus retenu par aucune considération, libre enfin, je vais vous parler le langage de la vérité que vous n'êtes peut-être plus en état d'entendre, et que vous n'écouterez sans doute pas; mais j'aurai rempli tout ce que je dois à ma patrie, tout ce que je dois à mon Roi, tout ce que je me dois à moi-même. "

" Je ne vous rappellerai pas, Messieurs, ce

que vous avez fait depuis deux ans ; je ne retracerai pas le tableau du désordre affreux dans lequel vous avez plongé le royaume ; mais le Roi étoit devenu le prisonnier de son peuple ; lui et son auguste famille étoient en butte aux plus sanglans outrages. Attaché à mon Souverain, attaché à la Monarchie, en détestant les abus qui étoient résultés d'une autorité trop étendue, et qu'il vouloit lui-même circonscrire, je gémissois de la frénésie du peuple que vous aviez égaré ; je gémissois des malheurs du Roi ; je blâmois vos opérations ridicules et insensées ; mais j'espérois qu'enfin la raison reprendroit ses droits ; que le délire du peuple cesseroit ; que les méchans seroient confondus ; que l'anarchie que vous avez établie par principes, finiroit ; que l'ordre renaîtroit et nous rameneroit un gouvernement sinon excellent, du moins supportable, et que le tems pourroit le rendre meilleur ; c'est ce qui m'a fait souffrir toutes les épreuves auxquelles vous m'avez mis, depuis le commencement de la révolution : mon attachement pour le Roi, mon amour pour ma patrie, m'ont donné le courage et la patience nécessaires pour braver les insultes et les affronts, et pour supporter la honte et l'humiliation de communiquer avec vous. Le tems a détruit mes espérances : j'ai vu que dans votre Assemblée il ne régnoit aucun esprit public ; que celui de faction seul y dominoit, et la divisoit en plusieurs partis, dont les uns vouloient le désor-

dre, l'entretenoient, le provoquoient même pour faire naître la guerre civile, comme étant pour eux la seule voie de salut ; les autres vouloient une République. M. *de la Fayette* étoit à la tête de ce parti ; son ambition sourde et cachée le conduisoit au seul but qu'il avoit d'être le chef d'un gouvernement aussi monstrueux pour nous. C'est dans ces circonstances que les clubs s'établirent, qu'ils achevèrent de corrompre le peuple dans toutes les parties de l'Empire, et de détruire l'armée. Je vis donc que l'anarchie étoit parvenue au dernier période : la populace, dirigée par les intrigans de tous les coins de la France, étant devenue maîtresse absolue ; qu'il n'existoit plus de force publique ; le Roi avoit perdu non seulement sa considération, mais encore sa liberté ; que les loix étoient sans force et sans vigueur, que l'armée ne présentoit plus qu'une soldatesque effrénée, ne connoissant ni autorité, ni chefs, qu'il ne restoit plus de moyen de rétablir l'ordre, et que toute ressource étoit ôtée, tout espoir détruit. "

" Ce fut alors que je proposai au Roi de sortir de Paris, de venir se réfugier avec sa famille dans quelque place frontière, où je l'environnerois de troupes fidèles ; persuadé que cette démarche pourroit opérer quelque changement avantageux dans l'esprit du peuple, déchirer le bandeau qui couvroit ses yeux, et déjouer tous les factieux. Le Roi et la Reine s'y refusèrent constamment,

alléguant la promesse qu'ils avoient faite de rester dans Paris, auprès de l'Assemblée. Je leur représentai qu'une promesse arrachée par la force ne pouvoit les lier; mais ce fut en vain. Je ne pus ébranler leur résolution. "

" La journée du 28 Février me donna lieu de renouveller au Roi mes instances. J'éprouvai les mêmes refus et la même constance dans ses principes. Il craignoit les évènemens qui pouvoient résulter de sa fuite, les effets de la fureur du peuple et l'accroissement, s'il étoit possible, de l'anarchie et du désordre. Je le dis avec vérité, la Reine pensoit de même, et se refusa à toutes mes propositions. Je ne perdis pas courage, j'étois convaincu que le départ du Roi étoit le seul moyen de sauver l'État; je savois que toutes les puissances de l'Europe armoient contre la France; qu'elles se préparoient à lui faire la guerre, à envahir son territoire. Libre au milieu de ses troupes, le Roi seul pouvoit arrêter la marche des armées ennemies. Sans doute alors, frappé de terreur, le peuple se voyant sans moyens de défense, instruit que l'armée n'existoit plus, que les places étoient presque démantelées, que les finances étoient épuisées, que le papier ne pouvoit suppléer au numéraire qui avoit fui de cette terre appauvrie, il auroit de lui-même prévenu les vues bienfaisantes du Monarque, et se seroit jeté dans ses bras. "

" Après l'arrestation du Roi, le 18 Avril, lors-

quil voulut aller à St. Cloud, je lui renouvellai mes instances avec plus de force, en lui faisant envisager qu'il n'y avoit que ce parti à prendre pour sauver la France, qui alloit bientôt être déchirée par une guerre civile, et mise en lambeaux par une guerre étrangère. Le bonheur, ou plutôt le salut du peuple fit sur son cœur généreux, l'impression que j'en attendois, et il se décida enfin, il fut résolu qu'il iroit à Montmédi et que dès qu'il y seroit en sûreté, il annonceroit aux Princes étrangers la démarche qu'il venoit de faire et les motifs qui l'y avoient engagé ; qu'il feroit en sorte de suspendre leur vengeance, (*ici de longs éclats de rire et des murmures.*) jusqu'à ce qu'une nouvelle Assemblée, qu'il auroit convoquée, leur eût donné la satisfaction qu'ils devoient attendre, et qu'elle eût réglé les droits du Monarque, ainsi que ceux du peuple français. Une proclamation devoit annoncer un nouveau Corps législatif librement choisi. L'exécution des cahiers qui exprimoient seuls le vœu de la Nation, auroit servi de base au travail des représentans des Français. "

" Le Roi devenu médiateur entre les puissances étrangères et son peuple, (*on rit.*) celui ! ci placé entre la crainte de voir la France devenir la proie des armes étrangères qui environnent les frontières, et l'espoir du rétablissement de l'ordre par un gouvernement circonscrit dans les bornes de la raison, auroit confié ses droits et ses

intérêts à des hommes sages et éclairés qui auroient rempli le vœu du prince et celui du peuple; les injustices, les usurpations, le règne du crime enfin, source inévitable du despotisme populaire, eussent sans doute cessé, et peut-être du cahos ou nous sommes, aurions-nous vu renaître les beaux jours de l'Empire français, éclairé par le flambeau de la liberté. Voilà ce que vouloit votre malheureux Monarque. Malgré vous-même, malgré l'ingratitude et l'atrocité de ce peuple féroce, il vouloit encore son bonheur! C'est cette seule idée, c'est ce beau désir qui ont déterminé la démarche hardie qu'il a faite en trompant la vigilance de M. de la Fayette, en s'exposant à la fureur de ses satellites et en guidant ses pas vers moi. "

" Nul autre motif ne l'a conduit; mais votre aveuglement vous a fait repousser la main protectrice qu'il vous tendoit: il va bientôt produire la destruction de l'Empire français. (*Nouveaux éclats de rire.*)

" Croyez-moi, Messieurs, les Princes de l'Europe reconnoissent qu'ils sont, ainsi que leurs peuples, menacés par le monstre que vous avez enfanté. Ils sont armés pour le combattre et bientôt notre malheureuse patrie, (car je lui donne encore ce nom) n'offrira plus qu'une scène de dévastation et d'horreurs. Je connois mieux que personne les moyens de défense que vous avez à opposer. Ils sont nuls. (*Ris.*) Tout espoir seroit chimérique,

Il n'est plus tems de vous abuser. Il ne l'est peut-être plus de dessiller les yeux du peuple que vous avez criminellement trompé et dont vous serez justement et sévérement punis. Votre châtiment servira d'exemple mémorable à la postérité, qui vous reprochera éternellement d'avoir assassiné votre patrie, dont vous pouviez prolonger la durée pendant des siècles, dont vous pouviez assurer et embellir la destinée.

" C'est ainsi que doit vous parler un homme qui n'a rien à attendre de vous, auquel vous avez inspiré d'abord la pitié, et qui n'a plus pour vous et pour le peuple anthropophage que vous avez enivré de crimes, que du mépris, de l'indignation et de l'horreur. "

" Au surplus n'accusez personne du complot et de la conspiration prétendue contre ce que vous appellez la Nation et votre infernale Constitution. J'ai tout arrangé, tout réglé, tout ordonné.

Le Roi lui-même n'a pas fait les ordres; c'est moi seul. Ceux qui ont dû les exécuter n'ont été instruits qu'au moment, et ils ne pouvoient y désobéir. C'est contre moi seul que doit être dirigée votre fureur sanguinaire, que vous devez aiguiser vos poignards et préparer vos poisons. J'ai voulu sauver ma patrie. J'ai voulu sauver le Roi, sa famille. Voilà mon crime. Vous répondrez de leurs jours, je ne dis pas à moi, mais à tous les Rois, et je vous annonce que si on

leur ôte un cheveu de la tête, avant peu il ne restera pas pierre sur pierre à Paris. (*Eclats de rire.*) Je connois les chemins: j'y guiderai les armées étrangères, et vous-mêmes en serez responsables sur vos têtes. Cette lettre n'est que l'avant-coureur du manifeste des Souverains de l'Europe, qui vous instruiront, avec des caractères plus prononcés, de ce que vous avez à faire et de ce que vous avez à craindre."

" Adieu, Messieurs, je finis sans complimens, mes sentimens vous sont connus. „

Signé, Le marquis DE BOUILLÉ.

[N°. 22.]

Extrait du rapport fait à l'Assemblée, le 13 *Juillet* 1791, *au nom des sept comités, chargés de rendre compte des évènemens du* 21 *Juin.*

Mr. Muguet organe des sept comités réunis pour préparer les décrets à porter au sujet de l'évènement du 21 Juin, a retracé les détails connus de la sortie nocturne des Tuileries, une voiture sur le quai des Théatins, une autre dans la cour des Princes, Les 3 gardes du corps en veste jaune, réunion de la famille Royale dans

une voiture plus commode à la porte S. Martin. A Sainte-Menehould le Sieur Drouet, maître de poste, crut avoir reconnu la Reine, dit le rapporteur, et dans le récit du Sieur Drouet, ce fut le Roi qu'il reconnut d'après l'effigie empreinte sur un assignat de 50 liv. N'importe MM. Drouet et Guillaume dévancent les voyageurs et vont annoncer au Sieur le Blanc, aubergiste à Varennes, qu'ils soupçonnent que ces deux voitures qui vont arriver, renferment le Roi et sa famille. Les deux frères le Blanc et d'autres arrêtèrent la voiture du Roi, le Sieur Sausse, procureur-Syndic de la Commune et l'Officier municipal faisant les fonctions de Maire, prétextent qu'il est trop tard, pour viser les passe-ports, que les chemins sont défaits, que ses raisons et l'alarme qui se répand doivent engager les voyageurs à descendre chez le Sieur Sausse; Ils y descendent, on barricade la ville et des canons sont posés près de la maison.

Un détachement de hussards commandé par un aide de camp de Mr. De Bouillé arrive et se range en bataille devant cette maison et l'aide-de-camp est introduit auprès du Roi, qui lui demande: quand part-on ? L'officier répond qu'il n'attend que ses ordres. Le Roi lui déclare, et au major de la garde nationale survenu, qu'il ne veut que 50 à 100 gardes nationaux pour l'accompagner, et se jettant dans les bras de Mr. Sausse, il lui dit: " Je suis votre Roi.

" Placé dans la capitale au milieu des poignards " et des bayonnettes, je viens chercher en pro- " vince, au sein de mes fidèles sujets, la liberté " et la paix dont vous jouissez. Je ne puis plus " rester à Paris sans y mourir et ma famille en " même-tems. " L'infortuné Monarque embrasse ceux qui l'entourent ; la Reine partage ses craintes, se joint à ses instances, il persite à vouloir se rendre à Montmédi, en protestant qu'il ne veut pas sortir du Royaume, et que la garde nationale peut l'accompagner ; 20 Dragons traversèrent la ville ; on met les hussards entre deux batteries ; leur commandant va charger la garde nationale dont l'aide major pare un coup de sabre et lâche un coup de pistolet qui casse l'épaule au commandant des hussards. Ceux-ci demandent à être commandés par un officier de la garde nationale, et l'air retentit des cris : Vive le Roi ! Vive la Nation ! Vive l'Assemblée nationale ! Vive Lauzun !

Arrive un aide de camp de M. de la Fayette porteur du décret. Le Roi persévère à vouloir partir pour Montmédi. Le retour est décidé. Les citoyens accourus forment un nombreux cortège. On se met en marche vers Châlons. Ici le rapporteur affirme que le Roi ne reçut sur la route que des témoignages de respect ; il cite bien l'ordre digne de l'excellent cœur de Henri IV, l'ordre que le meilleur des Rois fit donner au fils de Mr. de Bouillé de ne rien entreprendre ;

mais il ne dit pas un seul mot de Mr. de Dampierre, égorgé sous les yeux du Monarque, des horribles imprécations qui frappoient l'air au tour de la voiture, où se résignoient si magnanimement le vertueux Prince et sa malheureuse famille. Il n'oublie cependant pas d'ajouter que par tout on crioit: Vive la Nation! Vive l'Assemblée nationale! et s'en remet pour les détails à ce qu'en ont raconté les commissaires.

Après un long extrait des différens procès-verbaux, il a posé cette grande question qui n'en fut jamais une: *Le Roi peut-il être mis en cause?* Et il en a trouvé la solution dans les décrets constitutionnels. Vous avez décrété, juré une Constitution monarchique et l'inviolabilité du Roi qui n'est pas un citoyen, mais un pouvoir. Si le Roi n'avoit pas été indépendant, s'il pouvoit être jugé par l'Assemblée, il lui seroit soumis, il ne seroit pas libre; on ne peut séparer le Roi de la royauté. S'il commettoit un crime, on le supposeroit en état de démence. Son évasion n'est pas même un délit. Vous ne pouvez prononcer sur des loix qui ne sont pas faites. Fût-il sorti du royaume, il n'auroit pas forfait à la Constitution, avant de se refuser à une proclamation. La déclaration qu'il a laissée n'a aucun caractère légal et ne contient aucune renonciation directe ni indirecte à la Royauté. Son acceptation étoit une formalité inutile à vos dé-

crets . . . . : Le Roi n'est donc pas coupable aux yeux de la Loi.

Soulevant le voile qui peut-être auroit dû couvrir toujours les suites possibles d'une opinion contraire, M. Muguet à laissé entrevoir les malheurs qui désolèrent l'Angleterre lors du meurtre de Charles I, on a rapproché les troubles de la minorité de Louis XIV, idées qui ne naissent ici que de l'hypothèse la plus déchirante et la plus affreuse à méditer; et il a fini par ces mots: " Vous verriez des régens que la loi désigne et " que la confiance éloigne. " Tous les motifs des comités, se combinant dans ses conclusions, le rapporteur a pensé que le Roi ne pourroit, sous aucun rapport, être mis en jugement; et il a proposé de décréter,

1°. Que le procès sera fait et parfait à Louis-François-Amour Bouillé et à ses fauteurs, complices et adhérans. 2°. Que MM. Heyman, Klinglin, Doffelize, Désoteux, Goguelas, Damas, Choiseuil, Stainville, Dandrouin, Velcour, Mandel, Manassin, Talon, Bouillé fils, Fersen, Maldent, Velory et Dumoutier sont soupçonnés d'avoir eu connoissance du complot, et d'avoir eu en vue de le favoriser; que leur procès leur sera fait et parfait. 3°. Que les personnes ci-dessus dénommées, qui sont ou seront arrêtées, seront conduites dans les prisons de la ville d'Orléans. 4°. Que M. Floriac, Remy, Lacour, Gouville, de Bridge et Mde de Tourzel resteront

en arrestation, pour être, après les informations, statué ce qu'il appartiendra. 5°. Que les Dames Brunier et Neuville, femmes de chambre de Mgr. le Dauphin et de la fille du Roi, seront mises en liberté.

[N°. 23.]

LETTRE DES PRINCES AU ROI.

SIRE, NOTRE FRERE ET SEIGNEUR,

" Lorsque l'Assemblée, qui vous doit l'existence, et qui ne l'a fait servir qu'à la destruction de votre pouvoir, se croit au moment de consommer sa coupable entreprise ; lorsqu'à l'indignité de vous tenir captif au milieu de votre Capitale, elle ajoute la perfidie de vouloir que vous dégradiez votre trône de votre propre main ; lorsqu'elle ose enfin vous présenter l'option, ou de souscrire des décrets qui feroient le malheur de vos peuples, ou de cesser d'être Roi. Nous nous empressons d'apprendre à Votre Majesté que les Puissances dont nous avons reclamé pour elle le secours, sont déterminées à y employer leurs forces, et que l'Empereur et le Roi de Prusse viennent d'en contracter l'engagement mutuel. Le sage *Léopold*, aussitôt après avoir assuré la tranquillité de ses états et amené celle de l'Europe, a signé

cet engagement à Pilnitz, le 27 du mois dernier, conjointement avec le digne successeur du grand Frédéric; ils en ont remis l'original entre nos mains; et pour le faire parvenir à votre connoissance, nous le ferons imprimer à la suite de cette lettre, la publicité étant aujourd'hui la seule voie de communication dont vos cruels oppresseurs n'ayent pu nous priver. "

" Les autres cours sont dans les mêmes dispositions que celle de Vienne et Berlin. Les Princes et Etats de l'Empire ont déjà protesté dans des actes authentiques, contre les lésions faites à des droits qu'ils ont résolu de soutenir avec vigueur. Vous ne sauriez douter, Sire, du vif intérêt que les Rois Bourbons prennent à votre situation; Leurs Majéstés Catholique et Sicilienne en ont donné des témoignages non équivoques. Les généreux sentimens du Roi de Sardaigne notre beau-père, ne peuvent pas être incertains. Vous avez droit de compter sur ceux des Suisses, les bons et anciens amis de la France. Jusques dans le fond du Nord, un Roi magnanime veut aussi contribuer à rétablir votre autorité; et l'immortelle Catherine, à qui aucun genre de gloire n'est étranger, ne laissera pas échapper celle de défendre la cause de tous les Souverains."

" Il n'est point à craindre que la Nation Britannique, trop généreuse pour contrarier ce qu'elle trouve juste, trop éclairée pour ne pas désirer ce qui intéresse sa propre tranquillité, veuille s'op-

poser aux vues de cette noble et irrésistible Confédération. "

" Ainsi dans vos malheurs, Sire, vous avez la consolation de voir les Puissances conspirées à les faire cesser, et votre fermeté dans le moment critique où vous êtes, aura pour appui l'Europe entière. "

" Ceux qui savent qu'on n'ébranle vos résolutions qu'en attaquant votre sensibilité, voudront sans doute vous faire envisager l'aide des Puissances étrangères comme pouvant devenir funeste à vos sujets ; ce qui n'est que vue auxiliaire, ils le travestiront en vue hostile et vous peindront le Royaume inondé de sang, déchiré dans toutes ses parties, menacé de démembremens. C'est ainsi qu'après avoir toujours employé les plus fausses alarmes pour causer les maux les plus réels, ils veulent se servir encore du même moyen pour les perpétuer. C'est ainsi qu'ils espèrent faire supporter les fléaux de leur odieuse tyrannie, en faisant croire que tout ce qui la combat, conduit au plus dur esclavage. "

" Mais, Sire, les intentions des Souverains qui vous donneront des secours, sont aussi droites, aussi pures que le zèle qui nous les a fait solliciter: elles n'ont rien d'effrayant ni pour l'état, ni pour vos peuples. Ce n'est point les attaquer, c'est leur rendre le plus signalé de tous les services, que de les arracher au despotisme des démagogues et aux calamités de l'anarchie. Vous

vouliez assurer plus que jamais la liberté de vos sujets, quand des séditieux vous ont ravi la vôtre : ce que nous faisons pour parvenir à vous la rendre, avec la mesure d'autorité qui vous appartient légitimement, ne peut être suspect de volonté oppressive. C'est au contraire venger la liberté, que de réprimer la licence ; c'est affranchir la Nation que de rétablir la force publique sans laquelle elle ne peut être libre. Ces principes, Sire, sont les vôtres ; le même esprit de modération et de bienfaisance qui caractérise toutes vos actions, sera la règle de notre conduite ; il est l'ame de toutes nos démarches auprès des Cours étrangères ; et dépositaires de temoignages positifs des vues aussi généreuses qu'équitables qui les animent, nous pouvons garantir qu'elles n'ont d'autre désir, que de vous remettre en possession du gouvernement de vos états, pour que vos Peuples puissent jouir en paix des bienfaits que vous leur avez destinés. "

" Si les rebelles opposent à ce désir une résistance opiniâtre et aveugle, qui force les armées étrangères de pénétrer dans le Royaume, eux seuls les y auront attirées ; sur eux seuls réjailliroit le sang coupable qu'il seroit nécessaire de répandre ; la guerre seroit leur ouvrage ; le but des Puissances confédérées n'est que de soutenir la partie saine de la Nation, contre la partie délirante, et d'éteindre au sein du Royaume le volcan de fanatisme dont les éruptions propagées menacent tous les Empires. "

" D'ailleurs, Sire, il n'y a pas lieu de croire que les Français, quelque soin qu'on prenne d'enflammer leur bravoure naturelle en exaltant, en électrisant toutes les têtes par des prestiges de patriotisme et de liberté, veuillent long-tems sacrifier leur repos, leurs biens et leur sang pour soutenir une innovation extravagante qui n'a fait que des malheureux. L'ivresse n'a qu'un tems; les succès du crime ont des bornes; et on se lasse bientôt des excès, quand on en est soi-même victime. Bientôt on se demandera pourquoi l'on se bat; et l'on verra que c'est pour servir l'ambition d'une troupe de factieux qu'on méprise, contre un Roi qui s'est toujours montré juste et humain: pourquoi l'on se ruine: et l'on verra que c'est pour assouvir la cupidité de ceux qui se sont emparés de toutes les richesses de l'Etat, qui en font le plus détestable usage, et qui, chargés de restaurer les finances publiques, les ont précipitées dans un abîme épouvantable; pourquoi l'on viole les devoirs les plus sacrés: et l'on verra que c'est pour devenir plus pauvres, plus souffrans, plus vexés, plus imposés qu'on ne l'avoit jamais été; pourquoi on bouleverse l'ancien gouvernement: et l'on verra que c'est dans le vain espoir d'en introduire un, qui, s'il étoit praticable, seroit mille fois plus abusif, mais dont l'exécution est absolument impossible; pourquoi l'on persécute les Ministres de Dieu: et l'on verra que c'est pour favoriser les desseins d'une secte

orgueilleuse qui a résolu de détruire toute Religion, et par conséquent de déchaîner tous les crimes. "

" Déjà même toutes ces vérités sont devenues sensibles; déjà le voile de l'imposture se déchire de toutes parts, et les murmures contre l'Assemblée qui a usurpé tous les pouvoirs et anéanti tous les droits, s'étendent d'une extrémité du Royaume à l'autre. "

" Ne jugez pas, Sire, de la disposition du plus grand nombre, par les mouvemens les plus turbulens; ne jugez pas le sentiment national d'après l'inaction de la fidélité et son apparente indifférence lorsque vous fûtes arrêté à Varennes, et lorsqu'une troupe de satellites vous reconduisit à Paris. L'effroi glaçoit alors tous les esprits, et faisoit régner un morne silence. Ce qu'on vous cache, ce qui dénote bien mieux le changement qui s'est fait et se fait de jour en jour, dans l'opinion, ce sont les marques de mécontentemens qui percent dans toutes les provinces, et qui n'attendent qu'un appui pour éclater davantage; c'est la demande que plusieurs départemens viennent de former pour que l'Assemblée ait à rendre compte des sommes immenses qu'elle a dilapidées depuis sa gestion; c'est la frayeur que ses chefs laissent appercevoir, et leur tentatives réitérées pour entrer en accommodement; ce sont les plaintes du commerce et l'explosion récente du désespoir de nos Colonies; c'est enfin la pénurie

absolue du numéraire, le refus des contribuables de payer les impôts, l'attente d'une banqueroute prochaine, la défection des troupes qui, victimes de tous les genres de séduction, commencent à s'en indigner; et le progrès toujous croissant des émigrations. Il est impossible de se méprendre à de pareils signes, et leur notoriété est telle, que l'audace même des séducteurs du Peuple ne sauroit en contester la vérité. "

" Ne croyez donc pas, Sire, aux exagérations des dangers par lesquels on s'efforce de vous effrayer. On sait que, peu sensible à ceux qui ne menaceroient que votre Personne, vous l'êtes infiniment à ceux qui tomberoient sur vos Peuples, ou qui pourroient frapper des objets chers à votre cœur; et c'est sur eux qu'on a la barbarie de vous faire frémir continuellement, en même tems qu'on a l'impudence de vanter votre liberté. Mais depuis trop long-tems on abuse de cet artifice, et le moment est venu de rejetter sur les factieux qui vous outragent, l'arme de la terreur qui jusqu'ici a fait toute leur force. "

" Les grands forfaits ne sont point à craindre, lorsqu'il n'y a aucun intérêt à les commettre, ni aucun moyen d'éviter, en les commettant, une punition terrible. Tout Paris sait, tout Paris doit savoir, que si une scélératesse fanatique ou soudoyée, osoit attenter à vos jours ou à ceux de la Reine, des armées puissantes, chassant devant elles une milice foible par indiscipline, dé-

couragée par les remords, viendroient aussi-tôt fondre sur la ville impie qui auroit attiré sur elle la vengeance du Ciel et l'indignation de l'Univers. Aucun des coupables ne pourroit alors échapper aux plus rigoureux supplices: donc, aucun d'eux ne voudra s'y exposer. "

" Mais si la plus aveugle fureur armoit un bras parricide, vous verriez, Sire, n'en doutez pas, des milliers de Citoyens fidèles, se précipiter autour de la Famille Royale, vous couvrir, s'il le falloit, de leurs corps, et verser tout leur sang pour défendre le vôtre.... Eh ! pourquoi cesseriez-vous de compter sur l'affection d'un peuple dont vous n'avez pas cessé un seul moment de vouloir le bonheur? "

" Le Français se laisse facilement égarer: mais facilement aussi il rentre dans la route du devoir; ses mœurs sont naturellement trop douces pour que ses actions soient long-tems féroces, et son amour pour ses Rois est trop enraciné dans son cœur, pour qu'une illusion funeste ait pu l'en arracher entièrement. "

" Qui pourroit être plus porté que nous à concevoir des alarmes sur la situation d'un Frère tendrement chéri ? Mais au dire même de vos plus téméraires, oppresseurs, ce refus du résumé constitutionnel que nous apprenons vous avoir été présenté par l'Assemblée le trois de ce mois, ne vous exposeroit qu'au danger d'être destitué par elle, de la Royauté. "

" Or ce danger n'en est pas un. Qu'importe que vous cessiez d'être Roi aux yeux des factieux, lorsque vous le seriez plus solidement et plus glorieusement que jamais, aux yeux de toute l'Europe et dans le cœur de tous vos sujets fidèles ? Qu'importe que par une entreprise insensée, on osât vous déclarer déchu du trône de vos ancêtres, lorsque les forces combinées de toutes les Puissances sont préparées pour vous y maintenir et punir les vils usurpateurs qui en auroient souillé l'éclat ? "

" Le danger seroit bien plus grand, si en paroissant consentir à la dissolution de la Monarchie, vous paroissiez affoiblir vos droits personnels aux secours de tous les Monarques, et si vous sembliez vous séparer de la cause des Souverains en consacrant une doctrine qu'ils sont obligés de proscrire. Le péril augmenteroit en proportion de ce que vous montreriez moins de confiance dans les moyens préservateurs ; il augmenteroit à mesure que l'impression du caractère auguste qui fait trembler le crime aux pieds de la Majesté Royale dignement soutenue, perdroit de sa force ; il augmenteroit lorsque l'apparence de l'abandon des intérêts de la Religion pourroit exciter la fermentation la plus redoutable. Il augmenteroit enfin, si vous résignant à n'avoir plus que le vain titre d'un Roi sans pouvoir, vous paroissiez, au jugement de l'Univers, abdiquer la couronne dont chacun sait

que la conservation exige celle des droits inaliénables qui y sont essentiellement inhérens. "

" Le plus sacré des devoirs, Sire, ainsi que le plus vif attachement, nous portent à mettre sous vos yeux toutes ces conséquences dangereuses de la moindre apparence de foiblesse, en même tems que nous vous présentons la masse des forces imposantes qui doit être la sauve-garde de votre fermeté. "

" Nous devons encore vous annoncer, et même nous jurons à vos pieds, que si des motifs qu'il nous est impossible d'appercevoir, mais qui ne pourroient avoir pour principe que l'excès de la violence et une contrainte qui pour être déguisée, n'en seroit que plus cruelle, forçoient votre main de souscrire une acceptation que votre cœur rejette, que votre intérêt et celui de vos peuples repoussent, et que votre devoir de Roi vous interdit expressément, nous protesterions, à la face de toute la terre, et de la manière la plus solennelle, contre cet acte illusoire et tout ce qui pourroit en dépendre ; nous démontrerions qu'il est nul par lui-même, nul par le défaut de liberté, nul par le vice radical de toutes les opérations de l'Assemblée usurpatrice qui, n'étant pas Assemblée d'Etats-Généraux, n'est rien. Nous sommes fondés sur les droits de la Nation entière, à rejetter des décrets diamétralement contraires à son vœu exprimé par l'unanimité de ses cahiers ; et nous désavouerions pour

elle, des mandataires infidèles qui, en violant ses ordres et transgressant la mission qu'elle leur avoit donnée, ont cessé d'être ses représentans. Nous soutiendrions, ce qui est évident, qu'ayant agi contre leur titre, ils ont agi sans pouvoir, et que ce qu'ils n'ont pu faire légalement, ne peut être accepté validement. "

" Notre protestation signée avec nous, par tous les Princes de votre Sang qui nous sont réunis, seroit commune à toute la maison de Bourbon à qui ses droits éventuels à la couronne imposent le devoir d'en défendre l'auguste dépôt. Nous protesterions pour vous-même, Sire, en protestant pour vos peuples, pour la Religion, pour les maximes fondamentales de la Monarchie, et pour tous les ordres de l'Etat.

" Nous protesterions pour vous et en votre nom, contre ce qui n'en auroit qu'une fausse empreinte. Votre voix étant étouffée par l'oppression, nous en serions les organes nécessaires, et nous exprimerions nos vrais sentimens, tels qu'ils sont consignés au serment de votre avènement au Trône, tels qu'ils sont constatés par les actions de votre vie entière, tels qu'ils se sont montrés dans la déclaration que vous avez faite au premier moment que vous vous êtes cru libre. Vous ne pouvez pas, vous ne devez pas en avoir d'autres, et votre volonté n'existe que dans les actes où elle respire librement. "

" Nous protesterions pour vos peuples, qui

dans leur délire ne peuvent appercevoir combien ce fantôme de constitution nouvelle qu'on fait briller à leurs yeux, et aux pieds duquel on les a fait jurer vainement, leur deviendroit funeste. Lorsque ces peuples, ne connoissant plus ni chef légitime, ni leurs intérêts les plus chers, se laissent entraîner à leur perte; lorqu'aveuglés par de trompeuses promesses, ils ne voient pas qu'on les anime à détruire eux-mêmes les gages de leur sûreté, les soutiens de leur repos, les principes de leur subsistance et tous les liens de leur association civile, il faut en réclamer pour eux le rétablissement, il faut les sauver de leur propre frénésie. "

" Nous protesterions pour la Religion de nos pères, qui est attaquée dans ses dogmes et dans son culte comme dans ses Ministres; et suppléant à l'impuissance où vous seriez de remplir vous-même en ce moment vos devoirs de Fils aîné de l'Eglise, nous prendrions en votre nom, la défense de ses droits, nous nous opposerions à des spoliations qui tendent à l'avilir; nous nous élèverions avec force contre des actes qui menacent le Royaume des horreurs du schisme, et nous professerions hautement notre attachement inaltérable aux règles ecclésiastiques admises dans l'Etat, desquelles vous avez juré de maintenir l'observation. "

" Nous protesterions pour les maximes fondamentales de la Monarchie dont il ne vous est

pas permis, Sire, de vous départir ; que la Nation elle-même a déclarées inviolables ; et qui seroient totalement renversées par les décrets qu'on vous présente ; spécialement par ceux qui en excluant le Roi de tout exercice du pouvoir législatif, abolissent la royauté même ; par ceux qui en détruisent tous les soutiens en supprimant tous les rangs intermédiaires ; par ceux qui en nivelant tous les états, anéantissent jusqu'au principe de l'obéissance ; par ceux qui enlèvent au Monarque les fonctions les plus essentielles du gouvernement monarchique, ou qui le rendent subordonné dans celles qu'ils lui laissent ; par ceux enfin, qui ont armé le peuple, qui ont annullé la force publique, et qui, en confondant tous les pouvoirs, ont introduit en France la tyrannie populaire. "

" Nous protesterions pour tous les ordres de l'Etat, parce qu'indépendamment de la suppression intolérable et impossible, prononcée contre les deux premiers ordres, tous ont été lézés, vexés, dépouillés ; et nous aurions à réclamer tout à la fois les droits du Clergé qui n'a voulu montrer une ferme et généreuse résistance que pour les intérêts du Ciel et les fonctions du saint ministère ; les droits de la Noblesse, qui, plus sensible aux outrages faits au Trône dont elle est l'appui, qu'à la persécution qu'elle éprouve, sacrifie tout pour manifester par un zèle éclatant, qu'aucun obstacle ne peut empêcher

un Chevalier français de demeurer fidèle à son Roi, à sa patrie, à son honneur ; les droits de la Magistrature, qui regrette, beaucoup plus que la privation de son état, de se voir réduite à gémir en silence de l'abandon de la justice, de l'impunité des crimes, et de la violation des Loix dont elle est essentiellement dépositaire ; enfin les droits des possesseurs quelconques, puisqu'il n'est point en France de propriété qui ait été respectée, point de citoyens honnêtes qui n'aient souffert. "

" Comment pourriez-vous, Sire, donner une approbation sincère et valide à la prétendue constitution qui a produit tant de maux ? "

" Dépositaire usufruitier du Trône que vous avez hérité de vos ayeux, vous ne pouvez ni en aliéner les droits primordiaux, ni détruire la base constitutive sur laquelle il est assis. "

" Défenseur né de la Religion de vos Etats, vous ne pouvez pas consentir à ce qui tend à sa ruine, et abandonner ses ministres à l'opprobre. "

" Débiteur de la justice à vos sujets, vous ne pouvez pas renoncer à la fonction essentiellement royale de la leur faire rendre par des tribunaux légalement constitués, et d'en surveiller vous-même l'administration. "

" Protecteur des droits de tous les Ordres, et des possessions de tous les particuliers, vous ne pouvez pas les laisser violer, et anéantir par la plus arbitraire des oppressions. "

" Enfin père de vos peuples, vous ne pouvez pas les livrer au désordre et à l'anarchie. "

" Si le crime qui vous obsède, et la violence qui vous lie les mains, ne vous permettent pas de remplir ces devoirs sacrés, ils n'en sont pas moins gravés dans votre cœur en traits ineffaçables, et nous accomplirions votre volonté réelle, en suppléant autant qu'il est en nous, à l'impossibilité où vous seriez de l'exercer. "

" Dussiez-vous même nous le défendre, et fussiez-vous forcé de vous dire libre en nous le défendant ; ces défenses, évidemment contraires à vos sentimens, puisqu'elles le seroient au premier de vos devoirs ; ces défenses, sorties du sein de votre captivité, qui ne cessera réellement que quand vos peuples seront rentrés dans le devoir, et vos troupes sous votre obéissance, ces défenses, qui ne pourroient avoir plus de valeur que tout ce que vous aviez fait avant votre sortie, et que vous avez désavoué ensuite ; ces défenses enfin, qui seroient imprégnées de la même nullité que l'acte approbatif contre lequel nous serions obligés de protester, ne pourroient certainement pas nous faire trahir notre devoir, sacrifier vos intérêts, et manquer à ce que la France auroit droit d'exiger de nous en pareille circonstance. Nous obéirions, Sire, à vos véritables commandemens, en résistant à des défenses extorquées, et nous serions sûrs de votre approbation, en suivant les loix de l'honneur

Notre parfaite soumission vous est trop connue pour que jamais elle vous paroisse douteuse. Puissions-nous être bientôt au moment heureux où, rétabli en pleine liberté, vous nous verrez voler dans vos bras, y renouveller l'hommage de notre obéissance, et en donner l'exemple à tous vos sujets! "

" Nous sommes, Sire, notre Frère et Seigneur, de votre Majesté,

Les très-humbles et très-obéissans Frères, Serviteurs et Sujets,

LOUIS-STANISLAS-XAVIER,
CHARLES-PHILIPPE.

Au Château de Schonburnstust, près Coblentz, le 10 *Septembre* 1791.

FIN.

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